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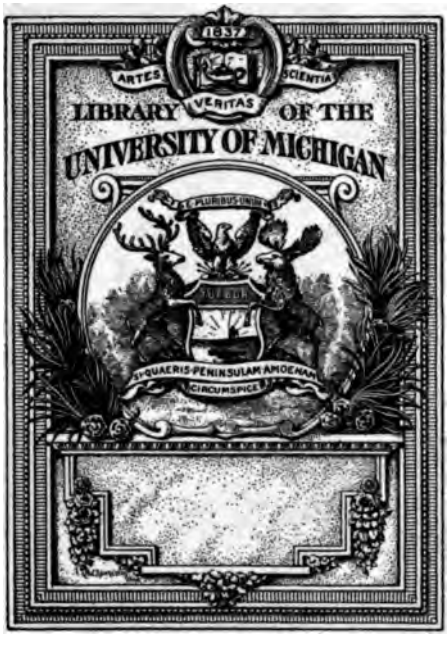
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THE

WORKS OF JONATHAN SWIFT

THE WORKS OF

Jonathan Swift

DEAN OF ST. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN

CONTAINING

ADDITIONAL LETTERS, TRACTS, AND POEMS

NOT HITHERTO PUBLISHED

WITH NOTES AND A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR

BY

SIR WALTER SCOTT

Second Edition

IN NINETEEN VOLUMES

VOL. V.

LONDON
BICKERS & SON, LEICESTER SQUARE
1883

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TRACTS,

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL,

DURING

THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE.

THE HISTORY

OF

THE FOUR LAST YEARS

OF THE

QUEEN.

FIRST PRINTED IN 1758.

THIS History, which Swift himself termed "the best work he had ever written," and on which he bestowed more than ordinary labour, was laid aside upon the accession of George I. In 1736, the author again intended to make it public; but the prudential fears of his friends probably interfered to prevent its then seeing the light. In 1758, a nameless editor of opposite political principles gave the volume to the press, with the following preface, in which he severely censures its scope and tendency.

ADVERTISEMENT

PREFIXED TO THE EDITION OF 1758.

THUS, the long-wished for History of the Four Last Years of the Queen's Reign is at length brought to light, in spite of all attempts to suppress it!

As this publication is not made under the sanction of the name, or names, which the author and the world had a right to expect; it is fit some account of the work's appearing in this manner should be here given.

Long before the dean's apparent decline, some of his intimate friends, with concern, foresaw the impending fate of his fortune and his works. To this it is owing, that these sheets, which the world now despaired of ever seeing, are rescued from obscurity, perhaps from destruction.

For this, the public is indebted to a gentleman, now in Ireland, of the greatest probity and worth, with whom the dean long lived in perfect intimacy. To this gentleman's hands the dean entrusted a copy of his History, desiring him to peruse and give his judgment of it, with the last corrections and amendments the author had given it, in his own hand.

His friend read, admired, and approved. And from a dread of so valuable and so interesting a work's being by any accident lost or effaced, as was probable by its not being intended to be published in the author's lifetime, he resolved to keep this copy till the author should press him for it; but with a determined purpose, it should never see the light while there were any hopes of the author's own copy being published, or even preserved.

This resolution he inviolably kept, till he and the world had full assurance, that the dean's executors, or those into whose hands the original copy fell, were so far from intending to publish it, that it was actually suppressed, perhaps destroyed.

Then, he thought himself not only at liberty, but judged it his duty to his departed friend, and to the public, to let this copy, which he had now kept many years most secretly, see the light.

Thus it has at length fallen into the hands of a person, who publishes it for the satisfaction of the public, abstracted from all private regards; which are never to be permitted to come into competition with the common good.

Every judicious eye will see, that the author of these sheets wrote with strong passions, but with stronger prepossessions and prejudices in favour of a party. These, it may be imagined, the editor, in some measure, may have adopted; and published this work, as a kind of support of that party, or some surviving remnant thereof.

It is but just to undeceive the reader, and inform him from what kind of hand he has received this work. A man may regard a good piece of painting, while he despises the subject: if the subject be ever so despicable, the masterly strokes of the painter may demand our admiration; while he, in other respects, is entitled to no portion of our regard.

In poetry, we carry our admiration still farther; and like the poet, while we actually contemn the man. Historians share the like fate; hence some, who have no regard to propriety or truth, are yet admired for diction, style, manner, and the like.

The editor considers this work in another light: he long knew the author, and was no stranger to his politics, connections, tendencies, passions, and the whole economy of his life. He has long been hardily singular in condemning this great man's conduct amid the admiring multitude; nor ever could have thought of making an interest in a man, whose principles and manners he could by no rule of reason or honour approve, however he might have admired his wit and parts.

Such was judged the disposition of the man, whose history of the most interesting period of

time in the annals of Britain is now, herein, offered to the reader. He may well ask from what motives? The answer is easily, simply given.

The causes assigned for delaying the publication of this history were principally these: That the manuscript fell into the hands of men, who, whatever they might have been by the generality deemed, were by the dean believed to be of his party; though they did not, after his death, judge it prudent to avow his principles, more than to deny them in his lifetime. These men, having got their beavers, tobacco-boxes, and other trifling remembrances of former friendship, by the dean's will, did not choose publicly to avow principles, that had marred their friend's promotion, and might probably put a stop to theirs: therefore, they gave the inquisitive world to understand, that there was something too strong against many great men, as well as the succeeding system of public affairs in general, in the dean's History of the Four Last Years of the Queen's Reign, to admit of a publication, in our times; and, with this poor insinuation, excused themselves, and satisfied the weakly well-affected, in suppressing the manifestation of displeasing truths, of however great importance to society.

This manuscript has now fallen into the hands of a man, who never could associate with, or even approve, any of the parties or factions, that have differently distracted, it might be said disgraced, these kingdoms; because he has as yet known none, whose motives or rules of action were truth and the public good alone; of one, who judges, that perjured magistrates of all denominations, and their most exalted minions, may be exposed, deprived, or cut off, by the fundamental laws of his country; and who, upon these principles, from

his heart approves and glories in the virtues of his predecessors, who revived the true spirit of the British polity, in laying aside a priest-ridden, henpecked, tyrannical tool, who had overturned the political constitution of his country, and in reinstituting the dissolved body politic, by a revolution, supported by the laws of nature and the realm, as the only means of preserving the natural and legal, the civil and religious liberties of the members of the commonwealth.

Truth, in this man's estimation, can hurt no good cause. And falsehood and fraud, in religion and politics, are ever to be detected, to be exploded.

Insinuations, that this history contained something injurious to the present establishment, and therefore necessary to be suppressed, serve better the purposes of mistaken or insidious malecontents than the real publication can. And, if anything were by this, or any other, history to be shown essentially erroneous in our politics; who, that calls himself a Briton, can be deemed such an impious slave, as to conceal the destructive evil? The editor of this work disdains and abhors the servile thought, and wishes to live no longer than he dares to think, speak, write, and, in all things, to act worthy of a Briton.

From this regard to truth and to his country, the editor of this History was glad of an opportunity of rescuing such a writing from those who meant to suppress it: the common cause, in his estimation, required and demanded it should be done; and the sooner it is published, he judged, the better: for, if the conduct of the queen and her ministers does not deserve the obloquy that has been long industriously cast upon it; what is more just than to vindicate it? what more reasonable than that this should be done, while living witnesses may yet be called, to

prove or disprove, the several allegations and assertions; since in a few years more, such witnesses may be as much wanting as to prevent a canonization, which is therefore prudently procrastinated for above an age? Let us then coolly hear what is to be said on this side the question, and judge like Britons.

The editor would not be thought to justify the author of this History, in all points, or even to attempt to acquit him of unbecoming prejudices and partiality: without being deeply versed in history or politics, he can see his author, in many instances, blinded with passions that disgrace the historian; and blending, with phrases worthy of a Cæsar or a Cicero, expressions not to be justified by truth, reason, or common sense; yet think him a most powerful orator, and a great historian.

No unprejudiced person will blame the dean for doing all that is consistent with truth and decency to vindicate the government of the queen, and to exculpate the conduct of her ministers and her last general; all good men would rejoice at such a vindication. But if he meant no more than this, his work would ill deserve the title of history. That he generally tells truth, and founds his most material assertions upon facts, will, I think, be found very evident. But there is room to suspect, that, while he tells no more than the truth, he does not tell the whole truth. However, he makes it very clear, that the queen's allies, especially our worthy friends the Dutch, were much to blame for the now generally condemned conduct of the queen, with regard to the prosecution of the war and the bringing about the peace.

The author's drawings of characters are confessedly partial: for he tells us openly, he means not to give characters entire, but such parts of each man's particular passions, acquirements, and habits,

as he was most likely to transfer into his political schemes. What writing, what sentence, what character, can stand this torture?—What extreme perversion may not, let me say, does not this produce? —Yet thus does he choose to treat all men, that were not favourers of the latest measures of the queen; when the best that has been said for her, shows no more than that she was blindfolded and held in leading-strings by her ministers.

He does not spare a man, confessed by all the world to have discharged the duties of his function like a soldier, like a hero; but charges Prince Eugene with raising and keeping up a most horrible mob, with intent to assassinate Harley. For all which odious charges he offers not one individual point of proof.

He is not content with laying open again the many faults already publicly proved upon the late Duke of Marlborough; but insinuates a new crime, by seeming to attempt to acquit him of aspiring at the throne. But this is done in a manner peculiar to this author.

On the other hand, he extols the ministers, and minions of the queen, in the highest terms; and while he robs their antagonists of every good quality, generally gives those wisdom and every virtue that can adorn human nature.

He is not ashamed to attempt to justify, what all thinking good men must condemn, the queen's making twelve peers at once, to serve a particular turn.

All these may be ascribed to the strength of his passions, and to the prejudices, early imbibed, in favour of his royal mistress and her favourites and servants.* The judicious will look through the

* That Swift should have a strong partiality to Harley and St. John, by whom he was respected and trusted to a most un-

elegant clothing, and dispassionately consider these as mere human errors, to which no well-informed mind can assent. The editor thinks himself bound to protest against them.

He makes a few lapses on the other side, without being as clear as an impartial historian would choose to appear. He more than hints at the queen's displeasure at its being moved in parliament, that the prince elector should be invited to reside in England, to whose crown he was by law declared presumptive heir; but is always open upon the queen's insisting on the Pretender's being sent out of France.—It is easy to see how incompatible these things appear: Nothing could tend more to secure the Hanover succession, and to enlarge its benefits to Britain, than the bringing over the successor, who should, in every country, be well instructed in the language, customs, manners, religion, and laws of his future subjects, before he comes to hold the reins of government.* And our author does not take the proper care to inform us how far the French thought fit to comply with banishing the Pretender their dominions; since many still live in doubt, that if he was sent out of France, he was sent into England.

But there is one expression of our author too per-

---

common degree, is natural and obvious; but upon what ground Queen Anne, who disliked his person, and obstructed his preferment, is here termed his *indulgent* mistress, the author of this preface ought to have condescended to explain.

* Without inquiring how far Queen Anne was seriously a friend to the Protestant succession, it may be here observed, that her disinclination to call over the elector is no proof of the contrary. What monarch would choose to invite into his kingdom a successor, only distantly allied to his family, and who, from the very circumstances under which he arrived, must have been necessarily the avowed head of the party which opposed the existing government?

verse, too grossly abused, to admit of any apology, of any palliation. It is not to be supposed, that he was ignorant of any word in the English language. And least of all can be supposed ignorant of the meaning of a word, which, had it been ever so doubtful before, had a certain meaning impressed upon it by the authority of parliament, of which no sensible subject can be ignorant.

Notwithstanding this, where our author speaks of the late King James, he calls him the *abdicated king*, and gives the same epithet even to his family. Though this weak, ill-advised, and ill-fated prince, in every sense of the word, with Romans and English, and to all intents and purposes, *abdicated*, yet can he, in no sense, be called *abdicated;* unless the people's asserting their rights, and defending themselves against a king, who broke his compact with his subjects, and overturned their government, can be called *abdication* in them; which no man in his senses can be hardy enough to support upon any principle of reason or the laws of England. Let the reader judge which this is most likely to be, error or design.

These exceptions the editor thought himself bound to make to some parts of this work, to keep clear of the disagreeable imputations of being of a party, of whatsoever denomination, in opposition to truth and the rights and liberties of the subject.

These laid aside, the work will be found to have many beauties, many excellencies. Some have of late affected to depreciate this history, from an insinuation, made only since the author's death, to wit, that he was never admitted into the secrets of the administration, but made to believe he was a confident, only to engage him in the list of the ministerial writers of that reign.

The falsehood of this will readily appear upon

perusal of this work. This shows he knew the most secret springs of every movement in the whole complicated machine. That he states facts, too well known to be contested, in elegant simplicity, and reasons upon them with the talents of the greatest historian. And thus makes a history, composed rather of negotiations than actions, most entertaining, affecting, and interesting, instead of being, as might be expected, heavy, dull, and disagreeable.

It is now fit to apologize for some errors, which the judicious must discover upon a perusal of this work. It is for this, among other reasons, much to be lamented, that this History was not published under the author's own inspection. It is next to impossible to copy or print any work without faults; and most so where the author's eye is wanting.

It is not to be imagined, that even our author, however accurate, however great, was yet strictly and perfectly correct in his writings. Yet, where some seeming inaccuracies in style or expression have been discovered, the deference due to the author made any alteration too presumptuous a task for the editor. These are, therefore, left to the amending hand of every sensible and polite reader; while the editor hopes it will suffice, that he should point out some of those errors, which are to be ascribed either to transcribers or the press.*

* These errors have been corrected in subsequent editions.

THE

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

HAVING written the following History at Windsor, in the happy reign of her majesty Queen Anne, of ever glorious, blessed, and immortal memory, I resolved to publish it, for the satisfaction of my fellow-subjects, in the year 1713; being under a necessity of going to Ireland, to take possession of the deanery of St. Patrick's, Dublin, I left the original with the ministers, and having staid in that kingdom not above a fortnight, I found, at my return, that my Lord-treasurer Oxford, and the secretary my Lord Bolingbroke, who were then unhappily upon very ill terms with each other, could not agree upon publishing it, without some alterations which I would not submit to. Whereupon I kept it by me until her majesty's death, which happened about a year after.

I have ever since preserved the original very safely, too well knowing what a turn the world would take, upon the German family's succeeding to the crown; which, indeed, was their undoubted right, having been established solemnly by the act of an undisputed parliament, brought into the House of Commons by Mr. Harley, who was then speaker.

But, as I have said in another discourse, it was very well understood, some years before her majesty's death, how the new king would act, immediately upon his entrance, in the choice of those (and those alone) whom he resolved to trust, and consequently what reports would industriously be

raised, as well as spread, to expose the proceedings of her majesty herself, as well as of her servants, who have been ever since blasted as enemies to the present establishment, by the most ignorant and malicious among mankind.

Therefore, as it was my lot to have been daily conversant with the persons then in power; never absent in times of business or conversation, until a few weeks before her majesty's death; and a witness of almost every step they made, in the course of their administration; I must have been very unfortunate not to be better informed, than those miserable pamphleteers, or their patrons, could pretend to. At the same time, I freely confess it appeared necessary, as well as natural, upon such a mighty change as the death of a sovereign, that those who were to be in power upon the succession, and resolved to act, in every part, by a direct contrary system of politics, should load their predecessors, with as much infamy, as the most inveterate malice and envy could suggest, or the most stupid ignorance and credulity in their underlings could swallow.

Therefore, as I pretend to write, with the utmost impartiality, the following History of the Four Last Years of her Majesty's Reign, in order to undeceive prejudiced persons at present, as well as posterity; I am persuaded in my own mind, as likewise by the advice of my oldest and wisest friends, that I am doing my duty to God and man, by endeavouring to set future ages right in their judgment of that happy reign; and, as a faithful historian, I cannot suffer falsehoods to run on any longer, not only against all appearance of truth, as well as probability, but even against those happy events, which owe their success to the very measures then fixed in the general peace.

The materials of this history, beside what I have

already mentioned, I mean the confidence reposed in me for those four years, by the chief persons in power, were extracted out of many hundred letters written by our ambassadors abroad, and from the answers, as well as instructions sent them, by our secretaries of state, or by the first minister the Earl of Oxford. The former were all originals, and the latter copies entered into books in the secretaries' office, out of both which I collected all that I thought convenient; not to mention several memorials given me by the ministers at home. Farther, I was a constant witness and observer of all that passed; and entered every particular of any consequence upon paper.

I was so far from having any obligation to the crown, that, on the contrary, her majesty issued a proclamation, offering three hundred pounds to any person who would discover the author of a certain short treatise,* which the queen well knew to have been written by me. I never received one shilling from the minister, or any other present, except that of a few books; nor did I want their assistance to support me. I very often dined indeed with the treasurer and secretary; but, in those days, that was not reckoned a bribe, whatever it may have been at any time since. I absolutely refused to be chaplain to the lord-treasurer; because I thought it would ill become me to be in a state of dependence.

I say this, to show that I had no other bias than my own opinion of persons and affairs. I preserved several of the opposite party in their employments, who were persons of wit and learning, particularly Mr. Addison and Mr. Congreve, neither of whom were ever in any danger from the treasurer, who much esteemed them both; and, by his lordship's

* Public Spirit of the Whigs.

commands, I brought the latter to dine with him. Mr. Steele might have been safe enough, if his continually repeated indiscretions, and a zeal mingled with scurrilities, had not forfeited all title to lenity.

I know very well the numberless prejudices of weak and deceived people, as well as the malice of those, who, to serve their own interest or ambition, have cast off all religion, morality, justice, and common decency. However, although perhaps I may not be believed in the present age, yet I hope to be so in the next, by all who will bear any regard for the honour and liberty of England, if either of these shall then subsist or not.

I have no interest or inclination, to palliate the mistakes, or omissions, or want of steadiness, or unhappy misunderstandings, among a few of those who then presided in affairs.

Nothing is more common than the virulence of superficial and ill informed writers, against the conduct of those who are now called prime ministers; and since factions appear, at present, to be at a greater height than in any former times, although perhaps not so equally poised, it may probably concern those who are now in their height, if they have any regard to their own memories, in future ages, to be less warm against others who humbly differ from them in some state opinions. Old persons remember, at least by tradition, the horrible prejudices that prevailed against the first Earl of Clarendon, whose character, as it now stands, might be a pattern for all ministers; although even Bishop Burnet of Sarum, whose principles, veracity, and manner of writing, are so little esteemed upon many accounts, has been at the pains to vindicate him.

Upon that irreparable breach between the treasurer and secretary Bolingbroke, after my utmost endeavours, for above two years, to reconcile them,

I retired to a friend in Berkshire, where I staid until her majesty's death, and then immediately returned to my station in Dublin, where I continued about twelve years, without once seeing England. I there often reviewed the following Memoirs, neither changing nor adding, farther than by correcting the style; and if I have been guilty of any mistakes, they must be of small moment; for it was hardly possible I could be wrong informed, with all the advantages I have already mentioned.

I shall not be very uneasy, under the obloquy that may perhaps be cast upon me, by the violent leaders and followers of the present prevailing party. And yet I cannot find the least inconsistence with conscience or honour, upon the death of so excellent a princess as her late majesty, for a wise and good man to submit, with a true and loyal heart, to her lawful Protestant successor, whose hereditary title was confirmed by the queen and both houses of parliament, with the greatest unanimity; after it had been made an article in the treaty, that every prince in our alliance should be a guarantee of that succession. Nay, I will venture to go one step farther; that, if the negotiators of that peace had been chosen out of the most professed zealots for the interest of the Hanover family, they could not have bound up the French king or the Hollanders more strictly that the queen's plenipotentiaries did, in confirming the present succession; which was, in them, so much a greater mark of virtue and loyalty, because they perfectly well knew, that they should never receive the least mark of favour, when the succession had taken place.

THE

HISTORY

OF

THE FOUR LAST YEARS

OF THE

QUEEN.

BOOK I.

I PROPOSE to give the public an account of the most important affairs at home, during the last session of parliament, as well as of our negotiations of peace abroad, not only during that period, but some time before and since. I shall relate the chief matters transacted by both houses in that session, and discover the designs carried on by the heads of a discontented party, not only against the ministry, but, in some manner, against the crown itself: I likewise shall state the debts of the nation; show by what mismanagement, and to serve what purposes, they were at first contracted;

by what negligence or corruption they have so prodigiously grown; and what methods have since been taken to provide not only for their payment, but to prevent the like mischief for the time to come. Although, in an age like ours, I can expect very few impartial readers, yet I shall strictly follow truth, or what reasonably appeared to me to be such, after the most impartial inquiries I could make, and the best opportunities of being informed, by those who were the principal actors or advisers.

Neither shall I mingle panegyric or satire with a history intended to inform posterity, as well as to instruct those of the present age, who may be ignorant or misled, since facts, truly related, are the best applauses, or most lasting reproaches.

Discourses upon subjects relating to the public usually seem to be calculated for London only, and some few miles about it; while the authors suppose their readers to be informed of several particulars, to which those that live remote are, for the generality, utter strangers. Most people, who frequent this town, acquire a sort of smattering, such as it is, which qualifies them for reading a pamphlet, and finding out what is meant by innuendoes, or hints at facts or persons, and initial letters of names; wherein gentlemen at a distance, although perhaps of much better understandings, are wholly in the dark: wherefore, that these Memoirs may be rendered more generally intelligible and useful, it will be convenient to give the reader a short view of the state and disposition of affairs, when the last session of parliament began. And because the party leaders who had lost their power and places were, upon that juncture, employing all their engines, in an attempt to re-establish themselves, I shall venture one step farther, and represent so

much of their characters as may be supposed to have influenced their politics.

On the 7th day of December 1711, began the second session of parliament. It was now above a year since the queen had thought fit to put the great offices of state, and of her own household, into other hands; however, three of the discontented lords were still in possession of their places; for the Duke of Marlborough continued general, the Duke of Somerset master of the horse, and the Earl of Cholmondeley treasurer of her majesty's household: likewise, great numbers of the same party still kept employments of value and importance, which had not been usual of late years upon any changes of ministry. The queen, who judged the temper of her people by this House of Commons, which a landed interest had freely chosen, found them very desirous of a secure and honourable peace, and disposed to leave the management of it to her own wisdom, and that of her council: she had, therefore, several months before the session began, sent to inform the States General of some overtures which had been made her by the enemy; and, during that summer, her majesty took several farther steps in that great affair, until at length, after many difficulties, a congress at Utrecht, for a general peace, was agreed upon; the whole proceedings of which previous negotiations, between our court and that of France, I shall, in its proper place, very particularly relate.

The nation was already upon a better foot, with respect to its debts: for the Earl of Oxford, lord-treasurer, had, in the preceding session, proposed and effected ways and means, in the House of Commons, where he was then a member, for providing a parliamentary fund, to clear the heavy arrear of ten millions (whereof the greatest part lay

upon the navy) without any new burden (at least after a very few years) to the kingdom; and, at the same time, he took care to prevent farther incumbrances upon that article, by finding ready money for naval provisions, which has saved the public somewhat more than *cent. per cent.* in that mighty branch of our expences.

The clergy were altogether in the interests and the measures of the present ministry, which had appeared so boldly in their defence, during a prosecution against one of their members,* where the whole sacred order was understood to be concerned. The zeal shown for that most religious bill, to settle a fund for building fifty new churches in and about the city of London, was a fresh obligation; and they were farther highly gratified, by her majesty's choosing one of their body to be a great officer of state.†

By this time likewise, all disputes about those principles, which used originally to divide Whig and Tory, were wholly dropped; and those fantastical words ought in justice to have been so too, provided we could have found out more convenient names, whereby to distinguish lovers of peace from lovers of war; or those who would leave her majesty some degree of freedom in the choice of her ministers, from others, who could not be satisfied with her choosing any, except such as she was most averse from: but, where a nation is once divided, interest and animosity will keep open the breach, without being supported by any other principles: or, at worst, a body of discontented people can change, and take up what principles they please.

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* Sacheverell.

† Dr. Robinson, Bishop of Bristol, was made Lord Privy Seal.

As to the disposition of the opposite party, we all remember, that the removal of the last ministry was brought about by several degrees; through which means it happened, that they and their friends were hardly recovered out of one astonishment, before they fell into another. This scene lasted for some months, and was followed by a period of rage and despair, natural to those who reflect that they have lost a secure game, by their own rashness, folly, and want of common management; when, at the same time, they knew by experience, that a watchful and dexterous adversary lay ready to take the advantage. However, some time before the session, the heads of that party began to recollect themselves, and rally their forces, like an enemy who has been beaten out of the field, but finds he is not pursued; for although the chiefs of this faction were thought to have but little esteem or friendship for each other, yet they perfectly agreed in one general end, of distressing, by all possible methods, the new administration; wherein if they could succeed so far as to put the queen under any great necessity, another parliament must be called, and perhaps the power devolve again into their own hands.

The issue and event of that grand confederacy appearing in both houses, although under a different form, upon the very first day the parliament met, I cannot better begin the relation of affairs, commencing from that period, than by a thorough detection of the whole intrigue, carried on with the greatest privacy and application; which must be acknowledged to have for several days disconcerted some of the ministry, as well as dispirited their friends; and the consequences thereof, which have in reality been so very pernicious to the kingdom.

But because the principal leaders in this design

are the same persons, to whom, since the loss of their power, all the opposition has been owing which the court received, either in treaties abroad, or the administration at home; it may not be improper to describe those qualities in each of them, which few of their admirers will deny, and which appear chiefly to have influenced them in acting their several parts upon the public stage: for I do not intend to draw their characters entire, which would be tedious, and little to the purpose; but shall only single out those passions, acquirements, and habits, which the owners were most likely to transfer into their political schemes, and which were most subservient to the designs they seemed to have in view.

The Lord Somers may very deservedly be reputed the head and oracle of that party: he has raised himself by the concurrence of many circumstances, to the greatest employments of the state, without the least support from birth or fortune; he has constantly, and with great steadiness, cultivated those principles under which he grew. That accident which first produced him into the world, of pleading for the bishops whom King James had sent to the Tower, might have proved a piece of merit, as honourable as it was fortunate; but the old republican spirit, which the Revolution had restored, began to teach other lessons—That since we had accepted a new king, from a calvinistical commonwealth, we must also admit new maxims in religion and government. But, since the nobility and gentry would probably adhere to the established church, and to the rights of monarchy, as delivered down from their ancestors, it was the practice of those politicians to introduce such men as were perfectly indifferent to any or no religion, and who were not likely to inherit much loyalty from

those to whom they owed their birth. Of this number was the person I am now describing. I have hardly known any man, with talents more proper to acquire and preserve the favour of a prince; never offending in word or gesture; in the highest degree courteous and complaisant; wherein he set an excellent example to his colleagues, which they did not think fit to follow: but this extreme civility is universal and undistinguished; and in private conversation, where he observes it as inviolably as if he were in the greatest assembly, it is sometimes censured as formal. Two reasons are assigned for this behaviour: first, from the consciousness of his humble original,* he keeps all familiarity at the utmost distance, which otherwise might be apt to intrude; the second, that being sensible how subject he is to violent passions, he avoids all incitements to them, by teaching those he converses with, from his own example, to keep a great way within the bounds of decency and respect. And it is indeed true, that no man is more apt to take fire upon the least appearance of provocation; which temper he strives to subdue, with the utmost violence upon himself: so that his breast has been seen to heave, and his eyes to sparkle with rage, in those very moments when his words, and the cadence of his voice, were in the humblest and softest manner: perhaps that force upon his nature may cause that insatiable love of revenge, which his detractors lay to his charge, who consequently reckon dissimulation among his chief perfections. Avarice he has none; and his ambition is gratified, by being the uncontested head of his party. With an excellent understanding,

* His father, John Somers, was an attorney at law in the town of Worcester.

adorned by all the polite parts of learning, he has very little taste for conversation, to which he prefers the pleasure of reading and thinking; and in the intervals of his time, amuses himself with an illiterate chaplain, an humble companion, or a favourite servant.

These are some few distinguishing marks in the character of that person, who now presides over the discontented party, although he be not answerable for all their mistakes; and if his precepts had been more strictly followed, perhaps their power would not have been so easily shaken. I have been assured, and heard him profess, that he was against engaging in that foolish prosecution of Dr. Sacheverell, as what he foresaw was likely to end in their ruin; that he blamed the rough demeanour of some persons to the queen, as a great failure in prudence; and that, when it appeared her majesty was firmly resolved upon a treaty of peace, he advised his friends not to oppose it in its progress, but find fault with it after it was made; which would be a copy of the like usage themselves had met with, after the treaty of Ryswick; and the safest, as well as the most probable way of disgracing the promoters and advisers. I have been the larger in representing to the reader some idea of this extraordinary genius, because, whatever attempt has hitherto been made, with any appearance of conduct, or probability of success, to restore the dominion of that party, was infallibly contrived by him; and I prophesy the same for the future, as long as his age and infirmities will leave him capable of business.

The Duke of Marlborough's character has been so variously drawn, and is indeed of so mixed a nature in itself, that it is hard to pronounce on either side, without the suspicion of flattery or

detraction. I shall say nothing of his military accomplishments, which the opposite reports of his friends and enemies among the soldiers, have rendered problematical; but if he be among those who delight in war, it is agreed to be not for the reasons common with other generals. Those maligners who deny him personal valour, seem not to consider that this accusation is charged at a venture; since the person of a wise general is too seldom exposed, to form any judgment in the matter: and that fear, which is said to have sometimes disconcerted him before an action, might probably be more for his army than for himself. He was bred in the height of what is called the Tory principle; and continued with a strong bias that way, till the other party had bid higher for him than his friends could afford to give. His want of literature is in some sort supplied by a good understanding, a degree of natural elocution, and that knowledge of the world which is learned in armies and courts. We are not to take the height of his ambition, from his soliciting to be general for life: I am persuaded, his chief motive was the pay and perquisites, by continuing the war; and that he had *then* no intentions of settling the crown in his family, his only son having been dead some years before. He is noted to be master of great temper, able to govern, or very well to disguise his passions, which are all melted down, or extinguished, in his love of wealth. That liberality which nature has denied him, with respect to money, he makes up by a great profusion of promises: but this perfection, so necessary in courts, is not very successful in camps among soldiers, who are not refined enough to understand or to relish it.

His wife, the duchess, may justly challenge her place in this list. It is to her the duke is chiefly

indebted for his greatness and his fall; for above twenty years she possessed, without a rival, the favours of the most indulgent mistress in the world, nor ever missed one single opportunity that fell in her way of improving it to her own advantage. She has preserved a tolerable court reputation, with respect to love and gallantry; but three Furies reigned in her breast, the most mortal enemies of all softer passions, which were sordid Avarice, disdainful Pride, and ungovernable Rage; by the last of these often breaking out in sallies of the most unpardonable sort, she had long alienated her sovereign's mind, before it appeared to the world. This lady is not without some degree of wit, and has in her time affected the character of it, by the usual method of arguing against religion, and proving the doctrines of Christianity to be impossible and absurd. Imagine what such a spirit, irritated by the loss of power, favour, and employment, is capable of acting or attempting; and then I have said enough.

The next in order to be mentioned is the Earl of Godolphin. It is said, he was originally intended for a trade, before his friends preferred him to be a page at court; which some have very unjustly objected as a reproach. He has risen gradually in four reigns, and was much more constant to his second master King James than some others, who had received much greater obligations; for he attended the abdicated king to the sea side, and kept constant correspondence with him till the day of his death. He always professed a sort of passion for the queen at St. Germain's; and his letters were to her, in the style of what the French call *double entendre.* In a mixture of love and respect, he used frequently to send her from hence little presents of those things which are agreeable to ladies, for which

he always asked King William's leave, as if without her privity; because, if she had known that circumstance, it was to be supposed she would not accept them. Physiognomists would hardly discover, by consulting the aspect of this lord,* that his predominant passions were love and play; that he could sometimes scratch out a song in praise of his mistress, with a pencil and card; or that he has tears at command, like a woman, to be used either in an intrigue of gallantry or politics. His alliance with the Marlborough family, and his passion for the duchess, were the cords which dragged him into a party, whose principles he naturally disliked, and whose leaders he personally hated, as they did him. He became a thorough convert by a perfect trifle; taking fire at a nickname † delivered by Dr. Sacheverell, with great indiscretion, from the pulpit, which he applied to himself: and this is one among many instances given by the enemies, that magnanimity is none of his virtues.

The Earl of Sunderland is another branch of that alliance. It seems to have been this gentleman's fortune, to have learned his divinity from his uncle, ‡ and his politics from his tutor. § It may be thought

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* How unfavourable Lord Godolphin's looks were may be guessed from his getting the nickname of Bacon-face.

† Volpone.

‡ This maternal uncle was John Digby, Earl of Bristol; but perhaps Swift thought of the versatile George Earl of Bristol, his grandfather, who changed his religion more than once.

§ Dr. Charles Trimnel, an eminent divine, was domestic chaplain in the family of the second Earl of Sunderland, and tutor to his son. He was successively Bishop of Norwich and Winchester. In 1709, his Pastoral Charge evinced his strong attachment to Low Church principles. It combats three claims, which were then the favourite pretensions of the High Church clergy, namely, the independence of the Church upon the State, the power of the priest to offer sacrifices, properly so called, and that of granting

a blemish in his character, that he has much fallen from the height of those republican principles with which he began; for in his father's lifetime, while he was a member of the House of Commons, he would often, among his familiar friends, refuse the title of Lord, (as he has done to myself,) swear he would never be called otherwise than Charles Spencer, and hoped to see the day, when there should not be a peer in England. His understanding, at the best, is of the middling size; neither has he much improved it, either in reality, or, which is very unfortunate, even in the opinion of the world, by an overgrown library. It is hard to decide, whether he learned that rough way of treating his sovereign from the lady he is allied to,* or whether it be the result of his own nature. The sense of the injuries he has done renders him (as it is very natural) implacable towards those to whom he has given greatest cause to complain; for which reason, he will never forgive either the queen or the present treasurer.

The Earl of Wharton has filled the province allotted him by his colleagues with sufficiency equal to the ablest of them all. He has imbibed his father's principles in government; but dropped his religion, and took up no other in its stead: excepting that circumstance, he is a firm Presbyterian. He is perfectly skilled in all the arts of managing at elections, as well as in large baits of pleasure, for making converts of young men of quality, upon their first appearance; in which public service he contracted such large debts, that his brethren were forced, out of mere justice, to leave Ireland at his

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absolution for sin. He also supported the impeachment of Sacheverell.

* He married the daughter of the Duchess of Marlborough.

mercy, where he had only time to set himself right. Although the graver heads of his party think him too profligate and abandoned, yet they dare not be ashamed of him; for, beside his talents above mentioned, he is very useful in parliament, being a ready speaker, and content to employ his gifts upon such occasions, where those who conceive they have any remainder of reputation or modesty are ashamed to appear. In short, he is an incontestable instance to discover the true nature of faction; since, being overrun with every quality which produces contempt and hatred, in all other commerce of the world, he has, notwithstanding, been able to make so considerable a figure.

The Lord Cowper, although his merits are later than the rest, deserves a rank in this great council. He was considerable in the station of a practising lawyer; but, as he was raised to be a chancellor, and a peer, without passing through any of the intermediate steps, which in late times had been the constant practice, and little skilled in the nature of government, or the true interest of princes, farther than the municipal or common law of England; his abilities, as to foreign affairs, did not equally appear in the council. Some former passages of his life were thought to disqualify him for that office, by which he was to be the guardian of the queen's conscience;* but these difficulties were easily overruled by the authors of his promotion, who wanted a person that would be subservient to all their designs; wherein they were not disappointed. As to his other accomplishments, he was what we usually call a *piece of a scholar*, and a good logical

* In the Examiner, No. 17, the Chancellor Cowper is distinguished by the nickname Will. Bigamy; the reason for which may be found in the note on that passage.—Vol. III.

reasoner; if this were not too often allayed, by a fallacious way of managing an argument, which made him apt to deceive the unwary, and sometimes to deceive himself.

The last to be spoken of in this list is the Earl of Nottingham, a convert and acquisition to that party since their fall, to which he contributed his assistance; I mean his words, and probably his wishes; for he had always lived under the constant visible profession of principles directly opposite to those of his new friends. His vehement and frequent speeches against admitting the Prince of Orange to the throne are yet to be seen; and, although a numerous family gave a specious pretence to his love of power and money, for taking an employment under that monarch, yet he was allowed to have always kept a reserve of allegiance to his exiled master; of which his friends produce several instances, and some, while he was secretary of state to King William. His outward regularity of life, his appearance of religion, and seeming zeal for the church, as they are an effect, so they are the excuse of that stiffness and formality with which his nature is fraught. His adust complexion disposes him to rigour and severity, which his admirers palliate with the name of zeal. No man had ever a sincerer countenance, or more truly representing his mind and manners. He has some knowledge in the law, very amply sufficient to defend his property at least. A facility of utterance, descended to him from his father, and improved by a few sprinklings of literature, has brought himself, and some few admirers, into an opinion of his eloquence. He is every way inferior to his brother Guernsey, but chiefly in those talents which he most values and pretends to; over whom, nevertheless, he preserves an ascendant. His great

ambition was to be the head of those who were called the church party; and, indeed, grave solemn deportment and countenance, seconded by abundance of professions for their service, had given many of them an opinion of his veracity, which he interpreted as their sense of his judgment and wisdom;* and this mistake lasted till the time of his defection, of which it was partly the cause; but then it plainly appeared, that he had not credit to bring over one single proselyte, to keep himself in countenance.

These lineaments, however imperfectly drawn, may help the reader's imagination to conceive what sort of persons those were, who had the boldness to encounter the queen and ministry, at the head of a great majority of the landed interest; and this upon a point where the quiet of her majesty's reign, the security, or at least the freedom, of her person, the lives of her most faithful friends, and the settling of the nation by a peace, were, in the consequences, deeply concerned.

During the dominion of the late men in power, addresses had been procured from both houses to the queen, representing their opinion, that no peace could be secure for Britain, while Spain or the West Indies remained in the possession of the Bourbon family. But her majesty having, for

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* He is ridiculed by Rowe, in an imitation of Horace, for an attachment to the famous singer, Signora Margaritta, afterwards Mrs. Tofts.

Did not base Greber's Peg inflame
The sober Earl of Nottinghame,
Of sober sire descended;
Till, careless of his health and fame,
To play-houses he nightly came,
And left Church undefended.

He acquired, from his solemnity of deportment, the nickname of *Diego*, and from his gravity, that of *Dismal*.

reasons which have been often told to the world, and which will not soon be forgotten, called a new parliament, and chosen a new set of servants, began to view things and persons in another light. She considered the necessities of her people; the distant prospect of a peace upon such an improbable condition, which was never mentioned or understood in the grand alliance; the unequal burden she bore in the war, by the practices of the allies upon the corruption of some whom she most trusted, or perhaps by the practices of these upon the allies; and lastly, by the changes which death had brought about in the Austrian and Bourbon families. Upon all which motives, she was prevailed upon to receive some overtures from France, in behalf of herself and the whole confederacy. The several steps of this negotiation, from its first rise to the time I am now writing, shall be related in another part of this history. Let it suffice for the present to say, that such proposals were received from France as were thought sufficient by our court, whereupon to appoint time and place for a general treaty; and soon after the opening of the session, the Bishop of Bristol, lord privy seal, was dispatched to Utrecht, where he and the Earl of Strafford were appointed plenipotentiaries for the Queen of Great Britain.

The managers of the discontented party, who, during the whole summer, had observed the motions of the court running fast toward a peace, began to gather up all their forces, in order to oppose her majesty's designs, when the parliament should meet. Their only strength was in the House of Lords, where the queen had a very crazy majority, made up by those whose hearts were in the other interest; but whose fears, expectations, or immediate dependence, had hitherto kept them within bounds. There were two lords, upon whose abilities and influence,

of a very different nature, the managers built their strongest hopes. The first was the Duke of Somerset, master of the horse. This duke, as well as his duchess, was in a good degree of favour with the queen, upon the score of some civilities and respects her majesty had received from them while she was princess. For some years after the Revolution, he never appeared at court, but was looked upon as a favourer of the abdicated family; and it was the late Earl of Rochester who first presented him to King William. However, since the time he came into employment, which was toward the close of the last reign, he has been a constant zealous member of the other party, but never failed either in attendance or respect toward the queen's person; or, at most, only threatened sometimes that he would serve no longer, while such or such men were employed; which, as things went then, was not reckoned any offence at all against duty or good behaviour. He had been much caressed and flattered by the Lords of the Junto, who sometimes went so far as to give him hopes of the crown, in reversion to his family, upon failure of the house of Hanover.* All this worked so far upon his imagination, that he affected to appear the head of their party, to which his talents were no way proportioned; for they soon grew weary of his indigested schemes, and his imperious manner of obtruding them: they began to drop him at their meetings, or contradicted him with little ceremony, when he happened to be there, which his haughty nature

* This nobleman acquired, from his magnificent mode of living, as well as his deportment, the title of the Proud Duke of Somerset, by which he is still known in tradition. The claims of the family of Seymour to the English crown were not sopited during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. So that the temptation to a person of the duke's temper was not altogether irrational.

was not able to brook. Thus a mortal quarrel was kindled between him and the whole assembly of party leaders; so that, upon the queen's first intention of changing her ministry, soon after the trial of Dr. Sacheverell, he appointed several meetings with Mr. Harley alone, in the most private manner, in places and at times least liable to suspicion. He employed all his credit with the queen, to drive on the removal of my Lord Godolphin, and the rest; and in the council, treated the small remainder, who continued some time longer in their places, with all possible marks of hatred or disdain. But, when the question came for dissolving the parliament, he stopped short; he had already satiated his resentments, which were not against things, but persons; he furiously opposed that counsel, and promised to undertake for the parliament himself. When the queen had declared her pleasure for the dissolution, he flew off in greater rage than ever; opposed the court in all elections where he had influence or power; and made very humble advances to reconcile himself with the discarded lords, especially the Earl of Godolphin, who is reported to have treated him at Newmarket in a most contemptuous manner. But the sincerity of his repentance, which appeared manifestly in the first session of the new parliament, and the use he might be of by his own remaining credit, or rather that of his duchess, with the queen, at length begat a reconcilement.

He still kept his employment, and place in the cabinet council; but had never appeared there, from an avowed dislike of all persons and proceedings. It happened about the end of summer, 1711, at Windsor, when the cabinet council was summoned, this duke, whether by direction from his teachers, or the instability of his nature, took a fancy to

resume his place, and a chair was brought accordingly; upon which, Mr. Secretary St. John refused to assist, and gave his reasons, "That he would never sit in council with a man who had so often betrayed them, and was openly engaged with a faction, which endeavoured to obstruct all her majesty's measures." *

Thus the council was put off to next day, and the duke made no farther attempts to be there. But, upon this incident, he declared open war against the ministry; and, from that time to the session, employed himself in spiriting up several depending lords to adhere to their friends, when an occasion should offer. The arguments he made use of were: "That those in power designed to make an ignominious and insecure peace, without consulting the allies: That this could be no otherwise prevented than by an address from the lords, to signify their opinion, that no peace could be honourable or secure, while Spain or the West Indies remained in any of the Bourbon family; upon which, several farther resolutions and inquiries would naturally follow: That the differences between the two houses, upon this point, must either be made up by the Commons agreeing with the Lords, or must end in a dissolution, which would be followed by a return of the old ministry; who, by the force of money and management, could easily get another parliament to their wishes." He farther assured them boldly, "That the queen herself was at the bottom of this design, and had empowered him to

* This slight, in some degree, avenged one of the same nature which Somerset had put upon Harley, by refusing to proceed to business in the privy council during the absence of Marlborough and Godolphin. This was in 1707, and rendered Harley's resignation then necessary.

desire their votes against the peace, as a point that would be for her service; and therefore they need not be in pain upon account of their pensions, or any farther marks of favour they expected." Thus, by reviving the old arts, of using her majesty's authority against her person, he prevailed over some, who were not otherwise in a station of life to oppose the crown; and his proselytes may pretend to some share of pity, since he offered for an argument his own example, who kept his place and favour, after all he had done to deserve the loss of both.

The other lord, in whom the discontented managers placed much of their hopes, was the Earl of Nottingham, already mentioned; than whom no man ever appeared to hate them more, or to be more pleased at their fall; partly, from his avowed principles, but chiefly, from the hopes he had of sharing in their spoils. But it fell out, that he was no way acceptable to the queen, or her new servants: these apprehended no little trouble and impediment to public business, from his restless, talkative, overweening manner, if once he was suffered to have any part in affairs; and he stood very ill with the court, having made a motion in the House of Lords, and in her majesty's presence, "That the electoral Prince of Hanover might be invited to reside in England;" * although he had before declared to the queen, how much he was against that proposal, when it was first offered by the other party. However, some very considerable

* The Earl of Rochester, Lord Haversham, and Lord Nottingham, all keen Tories, united in proposing, that the Electress Sophia, or her son, should be invited to England; though it may safely be doubted, whether they meant anything further than to embarrass the Whig ministry.

employments had been given to his nearest relations; and he had one or two offers for himself, which he thought fit to refuse, as not equal to his merits and character. Upon the Earl of Rochester's decease, he conceived that the crown would hardly overlook him for president of the council, and deeply resented that disappointment. But the Duke of Newcastle, lord privy seal, dying some time after, he found that office was first designed for the Earl of Jersey, and, upon this lord's sudden death, was actually disposed of to the Bishop of Bristol; by which he plainly saw, that the queen was determined against giving him any opportunity of directing in affairs, or displaying his eloquence in the cabinet council. He had now shaken off all remains of patience or temper; and, from the contemplation of his own disappointments, fell, as it is natural, to find fault with the public management, and to assure his neighbours in the country, "that the nation was in imminent danger of being ruined." The discontented lords were soon apprised of this great change; and the Duke of Roxburgh,* the earl's son-in-law, was dispatched to Burleigh on the Hill, to cultivate his present dispositions, and offer him whatever terms he pleased to insist on. The earl immediately agreed to fall in with any measures for distressing or destroying the ministry: but, in order to preserve his reputation with the church party, and perhaps bring them over to his interests, he proposed that a bill should be brought into the House of Lords, for preventing occasional conformity, and be unanimously agreed to by all the peers of the low-church principle; which would convince the world of their good intentions to the

* John Ker, Earl of Roxburgh and Kelso, created Marquis of Beaumont and Cessford, and Duke of Roxburgh.

established religion, and that their oppositions to the court wholly proceeded from their care of the nation, and concern for its honour and safety.

These preparations were public enough, and the ministers had sufficient time to arm themselves; but they seem to have acted, in this juncture, like men who trusted to the goodness of their cause, and the general inclinations of the kingdom, rather than to those arts, which our corruptions have too often made necessary. Calculations were indeed taken, by which it was computed, that there would be a majority of ten upon the side of the court. I remember to have told my Lord Harcourt, and Mr. Prior, that a majority of ten was only a majority of five; because, if their adversaries could bring off five, the number would be equal: and so it happened to prove; for the mistake lay in counting upon the bare promises of those who were wholly in the interest of the old ministry, and were only kept in awe, by the fear of offending the crown, and losing their subsistence; wherein the Duke of Somerset had given them full satisfaction.

With these dispositions of both parties, and fears and hopes of the event, the parliament met upon the 7th of December 1711. The queen's speech (excepting what related to supplies) was chiefly taken up in telling both Houses what progress she had made towards a general peace, and her hopes of bringing it to a speedy conclusion. As soon as her majesty was withdrawn, the House of Lords, in a committee, resolved upon an address of thanks; to which the Earl of Nottingham proposed an addition of the following clause:

"And we do beg leave to represent it to your majesty, as the humble opinion and advice of this house, that no peace can be safe or honourable to Great Britain and Europe, if Spain and the West

Indies are to be allotted to any branch of the house of Bourbon."

He was seconded by the Earl of Scarborough; and, after a debate of several hours, the question for the clause was carried, as I remember, by not above two voices.* The next day, the House agreed with the committee. The depending lords (having taken fresh courage from their principals, and some who professed themselves very humble servants to the present ministry, and enemies to the former) went along with the stream, pretending not to see the consequences that must visibly follow. The address was presented on the 11th; to which her majesty's answer was short and dry. She distinguished their thanks from the rest of the piece; and, in return to Lord Nottingham's clause, said, "She should be sorry that anybody could think she would not do her utmost to recover Spain and the West Indies from the house of Bourbon."

Upon the 15th of December, the Earl of Nottingham likewise brought in the bill to prevent occasional conformity, (although under a disguised title,) which met with no opposition; but was swallowed by those very lords, who always appeared with the utmost violence, against the least advantage to the established church.

But, in the House of Commons, there appeared a very different spirit; for, when one Mr. Robert Walpole offered a clause of the same nature with that of the Earl of Nottingham, it was rejected with contempt by a very great majority. Their address was, in the most dutiful manner, approving of what her majesty had done toward a peace, and trusting

* The previous question in favour of the Earl of Nottingham's amendment was carried by a single vote, the main question by a majority of no less than eight!

entirely to her wisdom in the future management of it. This address was presented to the queen a day before that of the Lords, and received an answer distinguishedly gracious. But the other party was nowise discouraged by either answer; which they looked upon as only matter of course, and the sense of the ministry, contrary to that of the queen.

The parliament sat as long as the approaching festival would allow; and upon the 22d, the land-tax and occasional bills having received the royal assent, the House of Commons adjourned to the 14th of January following; but the adjournment of the Lords was only to the 2d, the prevailing party there being in haste to pursue the consequences of the Earl of Nottingham's clause, which they hoped would end in the ruin of the treasurer, and overthrow the ministry; and therefore took the advantage of this interval, that they might not be disturbed by the Commons.

When this address against any peace without Spain, &c., was carried in the House of Lords, it is not easy to describe the effects it had upon most men's passions. The partisans of the old ministry triumphed loudly, and without any reserve, as if the game were their own. The Earl of Wharton was observed in the House to smile, and put his hands to his neck, when any of the ministry were speaking, by which he would have it understood that some heads were in danger. Parker, the chief justice, began already, with great zeal and officiousness, to prosecute authors and printers of weekly and other papers, writ in defence of the administration; in short, joy and vengeance sat visible in every countenance of that party.*

* See Journal, Vol. II. p. 429.

On the other side, all well-wishers to the queen, the church, or the peace, were equally dejected; and the treasurer stood the foremost mark, both of his enemies' fury, and the censure of his friends: among the latter, some imputed this fatal miscarriage to his procrastinating nature; others to his unmeasurable public thrift. Both parties agreed, that a first minister, with very moderate skill in affairs, might easily have governed the event; and some began to doubt, whether the great fame of his abilities, acquired in other stations, were what he justly deserved. All this he knew well enough, and heard it with great phlegm; neither did it make any alteration in his countenance or humour. He told Monsieur Buys, the Dutch envoy, two days before the parliament sat, "That he was sorry for what was likely to pass, because the States would be the first sufferers; which he desired the envoy to remember." And to his nearest friends, who appeared in pain about the public or themselves, he only said, "That all would be well;" and desired them not to be frighted.*

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* Swift gives in his Journal the following remarkable account of a conference with the lord-treasurer, at this ticklish period: "Mr. Masham begged us to stay, because lord-treasurer would call, and we were resolved to fall on him about his negligence in securing a majority. He came, and appeared in good humour as usual, but I thought his countenance was much cast down. I rallied him, and desired him to give me his staff, which he did; I told him, if he would secure it me a week, I would set all right: he asked, how? I said, I would immediately turn Lord Marlborough, his two daughters, the Duke and Duchess of Somerset, and Lord Cholmondeley, out of all their employments; and I believe he had not a friend but was of my opinion. Arbuthnot asked, how he came not to secure a majority? He could answer nothing, but that he could not help it, if people would lie and forswear. A poor answer for a great minister. There fell from him a scripture expression, that the *hearts of kings are unsearchable.* I

It was, I conceive, upon these motives that the treasurer advised her majesty to create twelve new lords,* and thereby disable the sting of faction for the rest of her lifetime. This promotion was so ordered, that a third part were of those on whom, or their posterity, the peerage would naturally devolve; and the rest were such, whose merit, birth, and fortune, could admit of no exception.

The adverse party, being thus driven down by open force, had nothing left but to complain, which they loudly did:—"That it was a pernicious example set for ill princes to follow, who, by the same rule, might make at any time a hundred as well as twelve, and by these means become masters of the House of Lords whenever they pleased, which would be dangerous to our liberties." To this it was answered, "That ill princes seldom trouble themselves to look for precedents; that men of great estates will not be less fond of preserving their liberties when they are created peers; that in such a government as this, where the prince holds the balance between two great powers, the nobility and people, it is the very nature of his office to remove from one scale into the other, or sometimes put his own weight in the lightest, so as to bring both to an equilibrium; and, lastly, that the other party had been above twenty years corrupting the nobility with republican principles, which nothing but the royal prerogative could hinder from overspreading us."

The conformity bill, above mentioned, was pre-

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told him it was what I feared, and was from him the worst news he could tell me. I begged him to know what he had to trust to: he stuck a little; but at last bid me not fear, for all would be well yet."—Vol. II. p. 425.

* See their names, Vol. II. pp. 441, 442.

pared by the Earl of Nottingham, before the parliament met, and brought in at the same time with the clause against peace, according to the bargain made between him and his new friends. This, he hoped, would not only save his credit with the church party, but bring them over to his politics, since they must needs be convinced, that, instead of changing his own principles, he had prevailed on the greatest enemies to the established religion, to be the first movers in a law for the perpetual settlement of it. Here it was worth observing, with what resignation the Junto Lords (as they were then called) were submitted to by their adherents and followers: for it is well known, that the chief among the dissenting teachers in town were consulted upon this affair, and such arguments used as had power to convince them, that nothing could be of greater advantage to their cause than the passing of this bill. I did indeed see a letter at that time from one of them, to a great man, complaining, "That they were betrayed and undone by their pretended friends;"* but they were in general very well satisfied, upon promises that this law should soon be repealed, and others more in their favour enacted, as soon as their friends should be re-established.

But nothing seemed more extraordinary, than the

* In Mr. Shower's letter to Oxford, 20th Dec. 1711, that eminent dissenting clergyman complains, that the dissenters "have been shamefully abandoned, sold and sacrificed, by their professed friends." In the answer, supposed to have been drawn up by Swift, the treasurer seems to admit the justice of their complaint, but upbraids the sect with their systematic and pertinacious opposition to the measures of the Tories. Tindal, the continuator of Rapin, pretends that great art was used by the ministry to exasperate the dissenters against the Whigs, who had betrayed them; but the letter in question bears no marks of such policy, although the occasion lay fair for displaying it. The expressions are those of triumph rather than sympathy.

event of this refined management, by which the Earl of Nottingham was so far from bringing over proselytes, (wherein his abilities fell very short even of the Duke of Somerset's,) or preserving the reputation of a firm churchman, that very few people did so much as imagine he had any such design; only, when he brought in the bill, they conceived it was some wonderful deep reach of politics, which they could not comprehend: however, they liked the thing; and, without troubling themselves about the persons or motives from whence it rose, it had a very speedy passage through both Houses. It must be confessed, that some attempt of this nature was much more necessary to the leaders of that party than is generally thought. The desire of power and revenge was common to them all; but several among them were also conscious that they stood in need of protection, whose safety was therefore concerned in the design of ruining the ministry as well as their ambition. The Duke of Marlborough foresaw those examinations, which were afterwards made into some parts of his management, and was apprehensive of a great deal more; that the parliament would perhaps inquire into the particulars of the negotiation at the Hague, 1709; for what ends, and by whose advice, the propositions of peace from France were rejected. Besides, he dreaded lest that mysterious policy might be laid open to the world, of desiring the queen to constitute him general for life, which was a very tender point, and would admit of much proof. It is true, indeed, that while the duke's affair was under the consideration of the House of Commons, one of his creatures * (whether by direction or otherwise) assured the speaker, with a very serious countenance, "that the world was

* Mr. Craggs.

mistaken, in censuring his lord upon this article; for it was the queen who pressed the duke to accept that commission, and, upon his humble refusal, conceived her first displeasure against him." How such a defence would have passed, if it had been offered in form, is easier to be conceived, than how any person in his wits could have the confidence to affirm it; which last it would indeed be hard to believe if there were any room left for doubt.

The Earl of Godolphin wanted protection, notwithstanding the act of general pardon, which had been procured by his credit, and was principally calculated for his own security. He knew that his long neglect of compelling the accomptants to pass their accompts might be punished as a breach of trust. He had run the kingdom into immense debts, by taking up stores for the navy upon a vast discount, without parliamentary security, for which he could be able to plead neither law nor necessity; and he had given way at least to some proceedings, not very justifiable, in relation to remittances of money, whereby the public had suffered considerable losses. The barrier treaty sat heavy upon the Lord Townshend's spirits, because, if it should be laid before the House of Commons, whoever negotiated that affair might be subject to the most severe animadversions; and the Earl of Wharton's administration in Ireland was looked upon as a sufficient ground to impeach him, at least, for high crimes and misdemeanours.

The managers in Holland were sufficiently apprised of all this; and Monsieur Buys, their minister here, took care to cultivate that good correspondence between his masters and their English friends, which became two confederates pursuing the same end.

This man had been formerly employed in England from that republic, and understood a little of our

language. His proficiency in learning has been such, as to furnish now and then a Latin quotation, of which he is as liberal as his stock will admit. His knowledge in government reaches no farther than that of his own country, by which he forms and cultivates matters of state for the rest of the world. His reasonings upon politics are with great profusion at all meetings, and he leaves the company with entire satisfaction that he has fully convinced them. He is well provided with that inferior sort of cunning, which is the growth of his country, of a standard with the genius of the people, and capable of being transferred into every condition of life among them from the boor to the burgomaster. He came into England with instructions, authorizing him to accommodate all differences between her majesty and the States; but, having first advised with the confederate lords, he assured the ministry, "he had powers to hear their proposals, but none to conclude:" and having represented to his masters what had been told him by the adverse party, he prevailed with them to revoke his powers. He found the interest of those who withstood the court would exactly fall in with the designs of the States, which were, to carry on the war as they could at our expence, and to see themselves at the head of a treaty of peace, whenever they were disposed to apply to France, or to receive overtures from thence.

The emperor, upon many powerful reasons, was utterly averse from all counsels which aimed at putting an end to the war, without delivering him the whole dominion of Spain. Nay, the Elector of Hanover himself, although presumptive heir to the crown of England, and obliged by all sorts of ties to cultivate her majesty's friendship, was so far deceived by misrepresentations from hence, that he

seemed to suffer Monsieur Bothmar, his envoy here, to print and publish a memorial in English, directly disapproving all her majesty's proceedings; which memorial, as appears by the style and manner of it, was all drawn up, or at least digested, by some party pen on this side of the water.

Cautious writers, in order to avoid offence or danger, and to preserve the respect ever due to foreign princes, do usually charge the wrong steps in a court altogether upon the persons employed. But I should have taken a securer method, and have been wholly silent on this point, if I had not then conceived some hope, that his electoral highness might possibly have been a stranger to the memorial of his resident: for, first, the manner of delivering it to the secretary of state was out of all form, and almost as extraordinary as the thing itself. Monsieur Bothmar, having obtained an hour of Mr. Secretary St. John, talked much to him upon the subject of which that memorial consists; and upon going away, desired he might leave a paper with the secretary, which, he said, contained the substance of what he had been discoursing. This paper Mr. St. John laid aside, among others of little consequence; and, a few days after, saw a memorial in print, which he found, upon comparing, to be the same with what Bothmar had left.

During this short recess of parliament, and upon the 5th day of January, Prince Eugene of Savoy landed in England. Before he left his ship, he asked a person who came to meet him, "Whether the new lords were made, and what was their number?" He was attended through the streets with a mighty rabble of people to St. James's; where Mr. Secretary St. John introduced him to the queen, who received him with great civility. His arrival had been long expected; and the project of

his journey had as long been formed here, by the party leaders, in concert with Monsieur Buys and Monsieur Bothmar, the Dutch and Hanover envoys. This prince brought over credentials from the emperor, with offers to continue the war on a new foot, very advantageous to Britain; part of which, by her majesty's commands, Mr. St. John soon after produced to the House of Commons; where they were rejected, not without some indignation, by a great majority. The emperor's proposals, as far as they related to Spain, were communicated to the house in the words following:

"His imperial majesty judges, that forty thousand men will be sufficient for this service; and that the whole expence of the war in Spain may amount to four millions of crowns; toward which, his imperial majesty offers to make up the troops which he has in that country to thirty thousand men, and to take one million of crowns upon himself."

On the other side, the House of Commons voted a third part of those four millions as a sufficient quota for her majesty toward that service: for it was supposed the emperor ought to bear the greatest proportion, in a point that so nearly concerned him: or at least, that Britain contributing one third, the other two might be paid by his imperial majesty and the States, as they could settle it between them.

The design of Prince Eugene's journey was to raise a spirit in the parliament and people for continuing the war; for nothing was thought impossible to a prince of such high reputation in arms, in great favour with the emperor, and empowered to make such proposals from his master, as the ministry durst not reject. It appeared by an intercepted letter from Count Gallas, (formerly the emperor's envoy

here,) that the prince was wholly left to his liberty, of making what offers he pleased in the emperor's name; for, if the parliament could once be brought to raise funds, and the war go on, the ministry here must be under a necessity of applying and expending those funds; and the emperor could find afterwards twenty reasons and excuses, as he had hitherto done, for not furnishing his quota. Therefore Prince Eugene, for some time, kept himself within generals; until, being pressed to explain himself upon that particular of the war in Spain, which the house of Austria pretended to have most at heart, he made the offer above mentioned, as a most extraordinary effort; and so it was, considering how little they had ever done before towards recovering that monarchy to themselves: but, shameful as these proposals were, few believed the emperor would observe them; or, indeed, that he ever intended to spare so many men, as would make up an army of thirty thousand men to be employed in Spain.

Prince Eugene's* visit to his friends in England continued longer than was expected. He was every day entertained magnificently by persons of quality of both parties. He went frequently to the treasurer, and sometimes affected to do it in private.

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* "Prince Eugene's character was so justly high, that all people for some weeks pressed about the places where he was to be seen, to look on him; I had the honour to be admitted, at several times, to much discourse with him. His character is so universally known, that I will say nothing of him but from what appeared to myself. He has a most unaffected modesty, and does scarcely bear the acknowledgments that all the world pay him. He descends to an easy equality with those with whom he converses; and seems to assume nothing to himself while he reasons with others. He was treated with great respect by both parties."—BURNET, IV. 350.

He visited the other ministers, and great officers of the court; but on all occasions, publicly owned the character and appellation of a Whig; and in secret, held continual meetings with the Duke of Marlborough and the other discontented lords, where M. Bothmar usually assisted. It is the great ambition of this prince, to be perpetually engaged in war, without considering the cause or consequence; and to see himself at the head of an army, where only he can make any considerable figure. He is not without a natural tincture of that cruelty, sometimes charged upon the Italians; and his being nursed in arms has so far extinguished pity and remorse, that he will at any time sacrifice a thousand men's lives to a caprice of glory or revenge. He had conceived an incurable hatred for the treasurer, as the person who principally opposed this insatiable passion for war; said, "He had hopes of others; but that the treasurer was *un mechant diable*, not to be moved." Therefore, since it was impossible for him or his friends to compass their designs, while that minister continued at the head of affairs, he proposed an expedient often practised by those of his country, "That the treasurer (to use his own expression) should be taken off *à la negligence;* that this might be easily done, and pass for an effect of chance, if it were preceded by encouraging some proper people to commit small riots in the night." And in several parts of the town, a crew of obscure ruffians were accordingly employed about that time, who probably exceeded their commission; and mixing themselves with those disorderly people, that often infest the streets at midnight, acted inhuman outrages on many persons, whom they cut and mangled in the face and arms, and other parts of the body, without any provocation. But an effectual stop was soon put to those

enormities, which probably prevented the execution of the main design.*

I am very sensible, that such an imputation ought not to be charged upon any person whatsoever, upon slight grounds, or doubtful surmises; and that those who think I am able to produce no better, will judge this passage to be fitter for a libel than a history. But, as the account was given by more than one person, who was at the meeting, so it was confirmed, past all contradiction, by several intercepted letters and papers: and it is most certain, that the rage of the defeated party, upon their frequent disappointments, was so far inflamed, as to make them capable of some counsels, yet more violent and desperate than this; which, however, by the vigilance of those near the person of her majesty, were happily prevented.

On the 30th day of December 1711, the Duke of Marlborough was removed from all his employments: the Duke of Ormond succeeding him as general, both here and in Flanders. This proceeding of the court (as far as it related to the Duke of Marlborough) was much censured both at home and abroad, and by some who did not wish ill to the present situation of affairs.† There were few examples of a commander being disgraced, after an uninterrupted course of success, for many years, against a formidable enemy, and this before a period

* It is well remarked by the anonymous Author of the Preface to this History, that Swift has produced no sort of proof in support of a charge so atrocious, and so foreign to the character of a brave general. The proofs mentioned in the subsequent paragraph ought to have been specifically quoted.

† Swift, from many passages in his private Journal, proves himself to have been one of those who dreaded the consequences of Marlborough's removal; and deemed it politic to retain him in the command of the army, which he had so often led to victory.

was put to the war. Those who had least esteem for his valour and conduct thought it not prudent to remove a general, whose troops were perpetually victorious while he was at their head; because this had infused into his soldiers an opinion that they should always conquer, and into the enemy, that they should always be beaten; than which nothing is to be held of greater moment, either in the progress of a war, or upon the day of battle: and I have good grounds to affirm, that these reasons had sufficient weight with the queen and ministry, to have kept the Duke of Marlborough in his post, if a way could have been found out, to have done it with any assurance of safety to the nation. It is the misfortune of princes, that the effects of their displeasure make usually much more noise than the causes. Thus, the sound of the duke's fall was heard farther than many of the reasons which made it necessary; whereof, though some were visible enough, yet others lay more in the dark. Upon the duke's last return from Flanders, he had fixed his arrival to town (whether by accident or otherwise) upon the 17th of November, called Queen Elizabeth's day; when great numbers of his creatures and admirers had thought fit to revive an old ceremony among the rabble, of burning the pope in effigy; for the performance of which with more solemnity, they had made extraordinary preparations.* From the several circumstances of the expence of this intended pageantry, and of the persons who promoted it, the court, apprehensive

* It is remarkable, that Swift should have gravely insisted upon this charge, since, in his private correspondence, he seems to have been convinced of its insignificance. See various passages in his Journal, particularly one in page 406. The procession was the revival of a scheme played off with considerable effect by the party in opposition, in 1681.

of a design to inflame the common people, thought fit to order, that the several figures should be seized as popish trinkets; and guards were ordered to patrole, for preventing any tumultuous assemblies. Whether this frolic were only intended for an affront to the court, or whether it had a deeper meaning, I must leave undetermined. The duke, in his own nature, is not much turned to be popular; and in his flourishing times, whenever he came back to England upon the close of a campaign, he rather affected to avoid any concourse of the *mobile*, if they had been disposed to attend him: therefore, so very contrary a proceeding, at this juncture, made it suspected as if he had a design to have placed himself at their head. "France," "Popery," "The Pretender," "Peace without Spain," were the words to be given about at this mock parade; and if what was confidently asserted be true, that a report was to have been spread at the same time of the queen's death, no man can tell what might have been the event.

But this attempt, to whatever purposes intended, proving wholly abortive, by the vigilance of those in power, the duke's arrival was without any noise or consequence; and upon consulting with his friends, he soon fell in with their new scheme for preventing the peace. It was believed by many persons, that the ministers might with little difficulty have brought him over, if they had pleased to make a trial; for, as he would probably have accepted any terms, to continue in a station of such prodigious profit, so there was sufficient room to work upon his fears, of which he is seldom unprovided, (I mean only in his political capacity,) and this infirmity very much increased by his unmeasurable possessions, which have rendered him *ipsique onerique timentem.* But reason, as well as the

event, proved this to be a mistake: for the ministers, being determined to bring the war to as speedy an issue, as the honour and safety of their country would permit, could not possibly recompense the duke for the mighty incomes he held by the continuance of it. Then, the other party had calculated their numbers; and by the accession of the Earl of Nottingham, whose example they hoped would have many followers, and the successful solicitations of the Duke of Somerset, found they were sure of a majority in the House of Lords; so that, in this view of circumstances, the Duke of Marlborough thought he acted with security, as well as advantage. He therefore boldly fell, with his whole weight, into the design of ruining the ministry, at the expence of his duty to his sovereign, and the welfare of his country, after the mighty obligations he had received from both. WHIG and TORY were now no longer the dispute; but THE QUEEN, or THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH. He was at the head of all the cabals and consults with Bothmar, Buys, and the discontented lords. He forgot that government of his passion, for which his admirers used to celebrate him: fell into all the impotences of anger and violence, upon every party debate: so that the queen found herself under a necessity, either, on the one side, to sacrifice those friends who had ventured their lives, in rescuing her out of the power of some, whose former treatment she had little reason to be fond of; to put an end to the progress she had made towards a peace, and dissolve her parliament; or, on the other side, by removing one person from so great a trust, to get clear of all her difficulties at once. Her majesty therefore determined upon the latter, as the shorter and safer course; and, during the recess at Christmas, sent the duke a letter,

to tell him she had no farther occasion for his service.

There has not, perhaps, in the present age, been a clearer instance, to show the instability of greatness, which is not founded upon virtue; and it may be an instruction to princes, who are well in the hearts of their people, that the overgrown power of any particular person, although supported by exorbitant wealth, can, by a little resolution, be reduced in a moment, without any dangerous consequences. This lord, who was beyond all comparison the greatest subject in Christendom, found his power, credit, and influence, crumble away on a sudden; and except a few friends or followers by inclination, the rest dropped off in course. From directing in some manner the affairs of Europe, he descended to be a member of a faction, and with little distinction even there: that virtue of subduing his resentments, for which he was so famed when he had little or no occasion to exert it, having now wholly forsaken him, when he stood most in need of its assistance; and, upon trial, was found unable to bear a reverse of fortune, giving way to rage, impatience, envy, and discontent.

THE

HISTORY

OF

THE FOUR LAST YEARS

OF THE

QUEEN.

BOOK II.

THE House of Lords met upon the 2d day of January, according to their adjournment; but, before they could proceed to business, the twelve new created peers were, in the usual form, admitted to their seats in that assembly; who, by their numbers, turned the balance on the side of the court, and voted an adjournment to the same day with the Commons. Upon the 14th of January the two Houses met; but the queen, who intended to be there in person, sent a message to inform them, "That she was prevented by a sudden return of the gout; and to desire they would adjourn for three days longer, when her majesty hoped she should be able to speak to them." However, her indisposi-

tion still continuing, Mr. Secretary St. John brought another message to the House of Commons from the queen, containing the substance of what she intended to have spoken: "That she could now tell them, her plenipotentiaries were arrived at Utrecht; had begun, in pursuance of her instructions, to concert the most proper ways of procuring a just satisfaction to all powers in alliance with her, according to their several treaties, and particularly with relation to Spain and the West Indies: That she promised to communicate to them the conditions of peace, before the same should be concluded: That the world would now see how groundless these reports were, and without the least colour, that a separate peace had been treated: That her ministers were directed to propose, that a day might be fixed for the finishing, as was done for the commencement, of this treaty; and that, in the meantime, all preparations were hastening for an early campaign," &c.

Her majesty's endeavours towards this great work having been in such a forwardness at the time that her message was sent, I shall here, as in the most proper place, relate the several steps, by which the intercourse between the courts of France and Britain was begun and carried on.

The Marquis de Torcy, sent by the Most Christian King to the Hague, had there, in the year 1709, made very advantageous offers to the allies, in his master's name; which our ministers, as well as those of the States, thought fit to refuse; and advanced other proposals in their stead; but of such a nature as no prince could digest, who did not lie at the immediate mercy of his enemies. It was demanded, among other things, "That the French king should employ his own troops, in conjunction with those of the allies, to drive his grandson out of Spain." The proposers knew very well, that the enemy would

never consent to this: and if it were possible they could at first have any such hopes, Mons. de Torcy assured them to the contrary, in a manner which might well be believed; for, when the British and Dutch plenipotentiaries were drawing up their demands, they desired that minister to assist them in the style and expression: which he very readily did, and made use of the strongest words he could find to please them. He then insisted to know their last resolution, whether these were the lowest terms the allies would accept; and having received a determinate answer in the affirmative, he spoke to this effect:

"That he thanked them heartily, for giving him the happiest day he had ever seen in his life: That, in perfect obedience to his master, he had made concessions, in his own opinion, highly derogatory to the king's honour and interest: That he had not concealed the difficulties of his court, or the discontents of his country, by a long and unsuccessful war, which could only justify the large offers he had been empowered to make: That the conditions of peace, now delivered into his hands by the allies, would raise a new spirit in the nation, and remove the greatest difficulty the court lay under; putting it in his master's power to convince all his subjects how earnestly his majesty desired to ease them from the burden of the war: but that his enemies would not accept of any terms, which could consist either with their safety or his honour. Mons. de Torcy assured the pensionary, in the strongest manner, and bid him count upon it, That the king his master would never sign those articles."

It soon appeared that the Marquis de Torcy's predictions were true; for, upon delivering to his master the last resolutions of the allies, that prince took care to publish them all over his kingdom, as

an appeal to his subjects, against the unreasonableness and injustice of his enemies; which proceeding effectually answered the utmost he intended by it; for, the French nation, extremely jealous of their monarch's glory, made universal offers of their lives and fortunes, rather than submit to such ignominious terms; and the clergy, in particular, promised to give the king their consecrated plate, towards continuing the war. Thus that mighty kingdom, (generally thought to be wholly exhausted of its wealth,) when driven to a necessity by the imprudence of the allies, or by the corruption of particular men who influenced their councils, recovered strength enough to support itself for three following campaigns; and in the last, by the fatal blindness or obstinacy of the Dutch, (venturing to act without the assistance of Britain, which they had shamefully abandoned,) was an overmatch for the whole confederate army.*

Those who, in order to defend the proceedings of the allies, have given an account of this negotiation, do wholly omit the circumstance I have now related; and express the zeal of the British and Dutch ministers for a peace, by informing us how frequently they sent after Mons. de Torcy and Mons. Rouille, for a farther conference. But in the meantime, Mr. Horatio Walpole, secretary to the queen's plenipotentiaries, was dispatched over hither to have those abortive articles signed and ratified by her majesty at a venture; which was accordingly done: a piece of management altogether absurd and without example; contrived only to deceive our people into a belief that a peace was intended, and to show what great things the ministry designed to do.

But this hope expiring, upon the news that France had refused to sign those articles, all was resolved

* Alluding to the defeat at Denain.

by recourse to the old topic of the French perfidiousness. We loaded them plentifully with ignominious appellations: "they were a nation never to be trusted." The parliament cheerfully continued their supplies, and the war went on. The winter following began the second and last session of the preceding parliament, noted for the trial of Dr. Sacheverell, and the occasions thereby given to the people, to discover and exert their dispositions, very opposite to the designs of those who were then in power. In the summer of 1710 ensued a gradual change of the ministry; and in the beginning of that winter the present parliament was called.

The King of France, whose real interests made him sincerely desirous of any tolerable peace, found it impossible to treat upon equal conditions, with either of the two maritime powers engaged against him, because of the prevalency of factions in both; who acted in concert to their mutual private advantage, although directly against the general dispositions of the people in either, as well as against their several maxims of government. But upon the great turn of affairs and councils here in England, the new parliament and ministers, acting from other motives, and upon other principles, that prince hoped an opportunity might arise of resuming his endeavours toward a peace.

There was at this time in England a French ecclesiastic, called the Abbé Gualtier,* who had

* He was a French priest, who said mass in the private chapel of Count Gallas, the Imperial envoy. Being, like most of his nation, a man of intrigue, he contrived to procure and exhibit to the ministry proofs that the reports of Count Callas to his court and to the Netherlands were unfavourable to them, and that he caballed with the opposition, for which he was dismissed from England. Gualtier assisted Marshal Tallard while a prisoner of war, and thus paved the way for being entrusted in deeper affairs.

resided several years in London, under the protection of some foreign ministers, in whose families he used, upon occasion, to exercise his function of a priest. After the battle of Blenheim, this gentleman went down to Nottingham, where several French prisoners of quality were kept; to whom he rendered those offices of civility suitable to persons in their condition, which upon their return to France they reported to his advantage. Among the rest the Chevalier de Croissy told his brother, the Marquis de Torcy, "That, whenever the French court would have a mind to make overtures of peace with England, Monsieur Gualtier might be very usefully employed, in handing them to the ministers here." This was no farther thought of at present. In the meantime the war went on; and the conferences at the Hague and Gertruydenberg miscarried, by the allies insisting upon such demands, as they neither expected, nor perhaps desired should be granted.

Some time in July 1710, Monsieur Gualtier received a letter from the Marquis de Torcy, signifying, "That a report being spread of her majesty's intentions to change her ministry, to take Mr. Harley into her councils, and to dissolve her parliament, the Most Christian King thought it might be now a favourable conjuncture to offer new proposals of a treaty." Monsieur Gualtier was therefore directed to apply himself, in the marquis's name, either to the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Jersey, or Mr. Harley; and inform the French court how such a proposition would be relished. Gualtier chose to deliver his message to the second of those, who had been ambassador from the late king to France. But the earl excused himself from entering into particulars with a stranger, and a private person, who had no authority for what he said, more than a letter from Monsieur de Torcy. Gualtier offered

to procure another from that minister to the earl himself; and did so in a month after; but obtained no answer till December following, when the queen had made all necessary changes, and summoned a free parliament to her wishes.—About the beginning of January, the abbé (after having procured his dismission from Count Gallas, the emperor's envoy, at that time his protector) was sent to Paris, to inform Mons. de Torcy, "That her majesty would be willing his master should resume the treaty with Holland, provided the demands of England might be previously granted." Gualtier came back, after a short stay, with a return to his message, "That the Dutch had used the Most Christian King and his ministers in such a manner, both at the Hague and Gertruydenberg, as made that prince resolve not to expose himself any more to the like treatment; that he therefore chose to address himself to England, and was ready to make whatever offers her majesty could reasonably expect for the advantage of her own kingdoms, and the satisfaction of her allies."

After this message had been duly considered by the queen and her ministers, Monsieur Gualtier was dispatched a second time to France, about the beginning of March 1710–11, with an answer to the following purpose: "That, since France had their particular reasons for not beginning again to treat with Holland, England was willing to remove that difficulty, and proposed it should be done in this manner: That France should send over hither the propositions for a treaty which should be transmitted by England to Holland, to be jointly treated on that side of the water; but it was to be understood, that the same proposition formerly offered to Holland was to be made to England, or one not less advantageous to the allies: for although England would enter most sincerely into such a treaty, and

show in the course of it the clearness of their intentions, yet they could not with honour entertain a less beneficial proposal than what was offered to the States."

That prince, as well as his minister Monsieur de Torcy, either felt, or affected, so much resentment of the usage the latter had met at the Hague and Gertruydenberg, that they appeared fully determined against making any application to the States, where the same persons continued still in power, of whose treatment they so heavily complained. They seemed altogether to distrust the inclination of that republic towards a peace; but, at the same time, showed a mighty complaisance to the English nation, and a desire to have her majesty at the head of a treaty. This appears by the first overture in form sent from that kingdom, and signed by Mons. de Torcy, on the 22d of April, N.S. 1711, to the following effect:

"That, as it could not be doubted but the king was in a condition of continuing the war with honour, so it could not be looked on as a mark of weakness in his majesty, to break the silence he had kept since the conferences at Gertruydenberg, and that, before the opening of the campaign, he now gives farther proof of the desire he always had to procure the repose of Europe. But after what he has found, by experience, of the sentiments of those persons who now govern the republic of Holland, and of their industry in rendering all negotiations without effect, his majesty will, for the public good, offer to the English nation those propositions which he thinks fit to make, for terminating the war, and for settling the tranquillity of Europe upon a solid foundation. It is with this view that he offers to enter into a treaty of peace, founded on the following conditions:

"First, The English nation shall have real securities for carrying on their trade in Spain, the Indies, and ports of the Mediterranean.

"Secondly, The king will consent to form a sufficient barrier in the Low Countries, for the security of the republic of Holland; and this barrier shall be such as England shall agree upon and approve; his majesty promising, at the same time, entire liberty and security to the trade of the Dutch.

"Thirdly, All reasonable methods shall be thought of, with sincerity and truth, for giving satisfaction to the allies of England and Holland.

"Fourthly, Whereas the affairs of the King of Spain are in so good a condition, as to furnish new expedients for putting an end to the disputes about that monarchy, and for settling it to the satisfaction of the several parties concerned, all sincere endeavours shall be used for surmounting the difficulties arisen upon this occasion; and the trade and interest of all parties engaged in the present war shall be secured.

"Fifthly, The conferences, in order to treat of a peace upon these conditions, shall be immediately opened; and the plenipotentiaries whom the king shall name to assist thereat shall treat with those of England and Holland, either alone, or in conjunction with those of their allies, as England shall choose.

"Sixthly, His majesty proposes the towns of Aix la Chapelle or Liege, for the place where the plenipotentiaries shall assemble; leaving the choice likewise to England of either of the said towns, wherein to treat of a general peace."

These overtures, although expressing much confidence in the ministry here, great deference to the queen, and displeasure against the Dutch, were immediately transmitted by her majesty's command

to her ambassador in Holland, with orders that they should be communicated to the pensionary. The Abbé Gualtier was desired to signify this proceeding to the Marquis de Torcy: at the same time, to let that minister understand, "that some of the above articles ought to be explained." The Lord Raby, now Earl of Strafford, was directed to tell the pensionary, "That her majesty, being resolved, in making peace, as in making war, to act in perfect concert with the States, would not lose a moment in transmitting to him a paper of this importance: That the queen earnestly desired that the secret might be kept among as few as possible; and that she hoped the pensionary would advise upon this occasion with no person whatsoever, except such as, by the constitution of that government, are unavoidably necessary: That the terms of the several propositions were indeed too general; but, however, they contained an offer to treat: And that, although there appeared an air of complaisance to England, through the whole paper, and the contrary to Holland, yet this could have no ill consequence, as long as the queen and the States took care to understand each other, and to act with as little reserve as became two powers so nearly allied in interest; which rule, on the part of Britain, should be inviolably observed." It was signified likewise to the pensionary, "That the Duke of Marlborough had no communication of this affair from England; and that it was supposed he would have none from the Hague."

After these proposals had been considered in Holland, the ambassador was directed to send back the opinion of the Dutch ministers upon them. The court here was indeed apprehensive that the pensionary would be alarmed at the whole frame of Monsieur de Torcy's paper, and particularly at these

expressions, "That the English shall have real securities for their trade, &c.; and that the barrier for the States General shall be such as England shall agree upon and approve." It was natural to think that the fear which the Dutch would conceive of our obtaining advantageous terms for Britain, might put them upon trying underhand for themselves, and endeavouring to overreach us in the management of the peace, as they had hitherto done in that of the war; the ambassador was therefore cautioned to be very watchful in discovering any workings which might tend that way.

When the Lord Raby was first sent to the Hague, the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Townshend had, for very obvious reasons, used their utmost endeavours to involve him in as many difficulties as they could; upon which, and other accounts, needless to mention, it was thought proper that his grace, then in Flanders, should not be let into the secret of this affair.

The proposal of Aix or Liege, for a place of treaty, was only a farther mark of their old discontent against Holland, to show they would not name any town which belonged to the States.

The pensionary, having consulted those who had been formerly employed in the negotiations of peace, and enjoined them the utmost secrecy, to avoid the jealousy of the foreign ministers there, desired the ambassador to return her majesty thanks, for the obliging manner of communicating the French overtures, for the confidence she placed in the States, and for her promise of making no step towards a peace, but in concert with them; assuring her of the like on their part: "That although the States endeavoured to hide it from the enemy, they were as weary of the war as we, and very heartily desirous of a good and lasting peace,

as well as ready to join in any method which her majesty should think proper to obtain it: That the States looked upon these propositions as very dark and general; and they observed how the enemy would create jealousies between the queen, their republic, and the other allies; but they were satisfied it would have no effect, and relied entirely on the justness and prudence of her majesty, who, they doubted not, would make the French explain themselves more particularly, in the several points of their proposals, and send a plan of the particular conditions, whereupon they would make a peace; after which the States would be ready, either to join with her majesty, or to make their objections; and were prepared to bring with them all the facility imaginable towards promoting so good a work."

This is the sum of the verbal answer made by the pensionary, upon communicating to him the French proposals: and I have chosen to set it down, rather than transcribe the other given to the ambassador some days after; which was more in form, and to the same purpose, but shorter, and in my opinion not so well discovering the true disposition of the Dutch ministers: for, after the queen had transmitted the French overtures to Holland, and the States found her majesty was bent in earnest upon the thoughts of a peace, they began to cast about how to get the negotiation into their own hands. They knew that whatever power received the first proposals, would be wise enough to stipulate something for themselves; as they had done in their own case, both at the Hague and Gertruydenberg, where they carved as they pleased, without any regard to the interests of their nearest allies. For this reason, while they endeavoured to amuse the British court, with expostulations upon the several preliminaries sent from France, Mon-

sieur Petecum, a forward meddling agent of Holstein, who had resided some years in Holland, negotiated with Heinsius the grand pensionary, as well as with Vanderdussen and Buys, about restoring the conferences between France and that republic, broken off in Gertruydenberg; pursuant to which, about the end of May, N.S. 1711, Petecum wrote to the Marquis de Torcy, with the privity of the pensionary, and probably of the other two. The substance of his letter was, to inform the marquis, "That things might easily be disposed, so as to settle a correspondence between that crown and the republic, in order to renew the treaty of peace: That this could be done with the greater secrecy, because Monsieur Heinsius, by virtue of his oath as pensionary, might keep any affair private as long as he thought necessary, and was not obliged to communicate it, until he believed things were ripe; and as long as he concealed it from his masters, he was not bound to discover it, either to the ministers of the emperor, or those of her British majesty: That since England thought it proper for King Charles to continue the whole campaign in Catalonia, (though he should be chosen emperor,) in order to support the war in Spain, it was necessary for France to treat in the most secret manner with the States, who were not now, so violently as formerly, against having Philip on the Spanish throne, upon certain conditions for securing their trade; but were jealous of England's design to fortify some trading towns in Spain for themselves: That Heinsius extremely desired to get out of the war, for some reasons which he (Petecum) was not permitted to tell; and that Vanderdussen and Buys were impatient to have the negotiations with France once more set on foot; which, if Monsieur Torcy thought fit to consent to, Petecum engaged that the

States would determine to settle the preliminaries, in the mid-way between Paris and the Hague, with whatever ministers the Most Christian King should please to employ."

Monsieur Torcy refused this overture; and, in his answer to Monsieur Petecum, assigned for the reason, the treatment his master's former proposals had met with, at the Hague and Gertruydenberg, from the ministers of Holland. Britain and Holland seemed pretty well agreed that those proposals were too loose and imperfect, to be a foundation for entering upon a general treaty; and Monsieur Gualtier was desired to signify to the French court, "That it was expected they should explain themselves more particularly on the several articles."

But, in the meantime, the queen was firmly resolved, that the interests of her own kingdoms should not be neglected at this juncture, as they had formerly twice been while the Dutch were principal managers of a negotiation with France. Her majesty had given frequent and early notice to the States, of the general disposition of her people toward a peace, of her own inability to continue the war upon the old foot, under the disadvantage of unequal quotas, and the universal backwardness of her allies. She had likewise informed them of several advances made to her on the side of France, which she had refused to hearken to, till she had consulted with those her good friends and confederates, and heard their opinion on that subject. But the Dutch, who apprehended nothing more than to see Britain at the head of a treaty, were backward and sullen, disliked all proposals by the queen's intervention, and said, "It was a piece of artifice in France to divide the allies." Besides, they knew the ministry was young, and the opposite faction had given them assurances, "That the people of

England would never endure a peace without Spain, nor the men in power dare to attempt it, after the resolutions of one house of parliament to the contrary." But, in the midst of this unwillingness to receive any overtures from France by the queen's hands, the Dutch ministers were actually engaged in a correspondence with that court, where they urged our inability to begin a treaty, by reason of those factions which themselves had inflamed; and were ready to commence a negotiation upon much easier terms, than what they supposed we demanded. For, not to mention the Duke of Lorrain's interposition in behalf of Holland, which France absolutely refused to accept, the letters sent from the Dutch to that court were shown some months after to a British minister there, which gave much weight to Monsieur de Torcy's insinuations, "That he knew where to meet with more compliance, if the necessity of affairs should force him to it by our refusal." And the violence of the States against our entertaining that correspondence was only because they knew theirs would never be accepted, at least till ours were thrown off.

The queen, sensible of all this, resolved to provide for her own kingdoms; and having therefore prepared such demands for her principal allies, as might be a ground for proceeding to a general treaty, without pretending to adjust their several interests, she resolved to stipulate, in a particular manner, the advantage of Britain. The following preliminary demands were accordingly drawn up, in order to be transmitted to France:

"Great Britain will not enter into any negotiation of peace, otherwise than upon these conditions obtained beforehand.

"That the union of the two crowns of France and Spain shall be prevented: That satisfaction shall be

given to all the allies, and trade settled and maintained.

"If France be disposed to treat upon this view, it is not to be doubted, that the following propositions will be found reasonable:

"A barrier shall be formed in the Low Countries for the States General; and their trade shall be secured.

"A barrier likewise shall be formed for the empire.

"The pretensions of all the allies, founded upon former treaties, shall be regulated and determined to their general satisfaction.

"In order to make a more equal balance of power in Italy, the dominions and territories which, in the beginning of the present war, belonged to the Duke of Savoy, and are now in the possession of France, shall be restored to his royal highness; and such other places in Italy shall be yielded to him, as will be found necessary and agreeable to the sense of former treaties made with this prince.

"As to Great Britain, in particular, the succession to the crown of the kingdoms, according to the present establishment, shall be acknowledged.

"A new treaty of commerce between Great Britain and France shall be made, after the most just and reasonable manner.

"Dunkirk shall be demolished.

"Gibraltar and Port-Mahon shall remain in the hands of the present possessors.

"The English shall have the assiento, in the same manner the French now enjoy it; and such places in the Spanish West Indies shall be assigned to those concerned in this traffic, for the refreshment and sale of their negroes, as shall be found necessary and convenient.

"All advantages, rights, and privileges, already

granted, and which may hereafter be granted, by Spain to the subjects of France, or to any other nation whatsoever, shall be equally granted to the subjects of Great Britain.

"And, for better securing the British trade in the Spanish West Indies, certain places, to be named in the treaty of peace, shall be put into possession of the English.

"Newfoundland, with the Bay and Straits of Hudson, shall be entirely restored to the English; and Great Britain and France shall severally keep and possess all those countries and territories in North America, which each of the said nations shall be in possession of at the time when the ratification of this treaty shall be published in those parts of the world.

"These demands, and all other proceedings between Great Britain and France, shall be kept inviolably secret, until they are published by the mutual consent of both parties."

The last article was not only intended for avoiding, if possible, the jealousy of the Dutch, but to prevent the clamours of the abettors here at home, who, under the pretended fears of our doing injustice to the Dutch, by acting without the privity of that republic, in order to make a separate peace, would be ready to drive on the worst designs against the queen and ministry in order to recover the power they had lost.

In June 1711, Mr. Prior, a person of great distinction, not only on account of his wit, but for his abilities in the management of affairs, and who had been formerly employed at the French court, was dispatched thither by her majesty with the foregoing demands. This gentleman was received at Versailles with great civility. The king declared, "That no proceeding in order to a general treaty

would be so agreeable to him, as by the intervention of England; and that his majesty, being desirous to contribute with all his power towards the repose of Europe, did answer to the demands which had been made:

"That he would consent, freely and sincerely, to all just and reasonable methods, for hindering the crowns of France and Spain from being ever united under the same prince; his majesty being persuaded that such an excess of power would be as contrary to the general good and repose of Europe, as it was opposite to the will of the late Catholic King Charles the Second." He said, "His intention was, that all parties in the present war should find their reasonable satisfaction in the intended treaty of peace; and that trade should be settled, and maintained for the future, to the advantage of those nations which formerly possessed it.

"That, as the king will exactly observe the conditions of peace, whenever it shall be concluded; and as the object he proposes to himself is to secure the frontiers of his own kingdom, without giving any sort of disturbance to his neighbours; he promises to agree that, by the future treaty of peace, the Dutch shall be put into possession of all such fortified places, as shall be specified in the said treaty, to serve for a barrier to that republic, against all attempts on the side of France. He engages likewise to give all necessary securities, for removing the jealousies raised among the German princes of his majesty's designs.

"That, when the conferences in order to a general treaty shall be formed, all the pretensions of the several princes and states engaged in the present war shall be fairly and amicably discussed; nor shall anything be omitted, which may regu-

late and determine them to the satisfaction of all parties.

"That, pursuant to the demands made by England, his majesty promises to restore to the Duke of Savoy those demesnes and territories which belonged to that prince at the beginning of this war, and which his majesty is now in possession of; and the king consents farther, that such other places in Italy shall be yielded to the Duke of Savoy as shall be found necessary, according to the sense of those treaties made between the said duke and his allies.

"That the king's sentiments of the present government of Great Britain, the open declaration he made in Holland, of his resolution to treat of peace by applications to the English, the assurances he had given of engaging the King of Spain to leave Gibraltar in their hands, (all which are convincing proofs of his perfect esteem for a nation still in war with him,) leave no room to doubt of his majesty's inclination to give England all securities and advantages for their trade which they can reasonably demand. But, as his majesty cannot persuade himself that a government, so clear-sighted as ours, will insist upon conditions which must absolutely destroy the trade of France and Spain, as well as that of all other nations of Europe, he thinks the demands made by Great Britain may require a more particular discussion.

"That, upon this foundation, the king thought the best way of advancing and perfecting a negotiation, the beginning of which he had seen with so much satisfaction, would be, to send into England a person instructed in his intention, and authorized by him to agree upon securities for settling the trade of the subjects of England, and those particular advantages to be stipulated in their favour,

without destroying the trade of the French and Spaniards, or of other nations in Christendom.

"That therefore his majesty had charged the person chosen for this commission to answer the other articles of the memorial given him by Mr. Prior, the secret of which should be exactly observed."

Mons. de Torcy had, for some years past, used all his endeavours to incline his master toward a peace, pursuant to the maxim of his uncle Colbert, "That a long war was not for the interest of France." It was for this reason the king made choice of him in the conferences at the Hague; the bad success whereof, although it filled him with resentments against the Dutch, did not alter his opinion; but he was violently opposed by a party both in the court and kingdom, who pretended to fear he would sacrifice the glory of the prince and country by too large concessions; or perhaps would rather wish that the first offers should have been still made to the Dutch, as a people more likely to be less solicitous about the interest of Britain, than her majesty would certainly be for theirs; and the particular design of Mr. Prior was to find out whether that minister had credit enough with his prince, and a support from others in power, sufficient to overrule the faction against peace.

Mr. Prior's journey could not be kept a secret, as the court here at first seemed to intend it. He was discovered, at his return, by an officer of the port at Dover, where he landed, after six weeks' absence; upon which, the Dutch Gazettes, and English newspapers, were full of speculations.

At the same time with Mr. Prior there arrived from France Mons. Mesnager, knight of the order of St. Michael, and one of the council of trade to the Most Christian King. His commission was in

general, empowering him to treat with the minister of any prince engaged in the war against his master. In his first conferences with the queen's ministers, he pretended orders to insist that her majesty should enter upon particular engagements in several articles, which did not depend upon her, but concerned only the interest of the allies reciprocally with those of the Most Christian King: whereas the negotiation had begun upon this principle, That France should consent to adjust the interests of Great Britain in the first place, whereby her majesty would be afterwards enabled, by her good offices on all sides, to facilitate the general peace. The queen resolved never to depart from this principle; but was absolutely determined to remit the particular interests of the allies to general conferences, where she would do the utmost in her power to procure the repose of Europe, and the satisfaction of all parties. It was plain, France could run no hazard by this proceeding, because the preliminary articles would have no force, before a general peace was signed; therefore it was not doubted but Mons. Mesnager would have orders to wave this new pretension, and go on in treating upon that foot, which was at first proposed. In short, the ministers required a positive and speedy answer to the articles in question; since they contained only such advantages and securities as her majesty thought she had a right to require from any prince whatsoever, to whom the dominions of Spain should happen to fall.

The particular demands of Britain were formed into eight articles; which Mons. Mesnager having transmitted to his court, and received new powers from thence, had orders to give his master's consent, by way of answers to the several points, to be obligatory only after a general peace. These de-

mands, together with the answers of the French king, were drawn up and signed by Mons. Mesnager, and her majesty's two principal secretaries of state; whereof I shall here present an extract to the reader.

In the preamble the Most Christian King sets forth, "That being particularly informed, by the last memorial which the British ministers delivered to Mons. Mesnager, of the dispositions of this crown to facilitate a general peace, to the satisfaction of the several parties concerned; and his majesty finding, in effect, as the said memorial declares, that he runs no hazard by engaging himself in the manner there expressed, since the preliminary articles will be of no force until the signing of the general peace; and being sincerely desirous to advance to the utmost of his power the repose of Europe, especially by a way so agreeable as the interposition of a princess, whom so many ties of blood ought to unite to him, and whose sentiments for the public tranquillity cannot be doubted; his majesty, moved by these considerations, has ordered Monsieur Mesnager, knight, &c., to give the following answers, in writing, to the articles contained in the memorial transmitted to him, entitled, Preliminary Demands for Great Britain in particular."

The articles were these that follow:

"First, The succession to the crown to be acknowledged, according to the present establishment.

"Secondly, A new treaty of commerce between Great Britain and France to be made, after the most just and reasonable manner.

"Thirdly, Dunkirk to be demolished.

"Fourthly, Gibraltar and Port Mahon to continue in the hands of those who now possess them.

"Fifthly, The assiento (or liberty of selling

negroes to the Spanish West Indies) to be granted to the English in as full manner as the French possess it at present; and such places in the said West Indies to be assigned to the persons concerned in this trade, for the refreshment and sale of their negroes, as shall be found necessary and convenient.

"Sixthly, Whatever advantages, privileges, and rights are already, or may hereafter be granted, by Spain to the subjects of France, or any other nation, shall be equally granted to the subjects of Great Britain.

"Seventhly, For better protecting their trade in the Spanish West Indies, the English shall be put into possession of such places as shall be named in the treaty of peace: or, as an equivalent for this article, that the assiento be granted Britain for the term of thirty years.

"That the isle of St. Christopher's be likewise secured to the English.

"That the advantages and exemption from duties, promised by Mons. Mesnager, which he affirms will amount to fifteen per cent. upon all goods of the growth and manufacture of Great Britain, be effectually allowed.

"That whereas, on the side of the river Plate, the English are not in possession of any colony, a certain extent of territory be allowed them on the said river, for refreshing and keeping their negroes, till they are sold to the Spaniards; subject nevertheless to the inspection of an officer appointed by Spain.

"Eighthly, Newfoundland, and the Bay and Straits of Hudson, shall be entirely restored to the English; and Great Britain and France shall respectively keep whatever dominions, in North America, each of them shall be in possession of,

when the ratification of this treaty shall be published in those parts of the world."

The six first articles were allowed, without any difficulty, except that about Dunkirk, where France was to have an equivalent, to be settled in a general treaty.

A difficulty arising upon the seventh article, the proposed equivalent was allowed instead thereof.

The last article was referred to the general treaty of peace; only the French insisted to have the power of fishing for cod, and drying them on the island of Newfoundland.

These articles were to be looked upon as conditions which the Most Christian King consented to allow; and whenever a general peace should be signed, they were to be digested into the usual form of a treaty, to the satisfaction of both crowns.

The queen having thus provided for the security and advantage of her kingdoms, whenever a peace should be made, and upon terms no way interfering with the interest of her allies; the next thing in order was, to procure from France such preliminary articles as might be a ground upon which to commence a general treaty. These were adjusted, and signed the same day with the former; and, having been delivered to the several ministers residing here, from the powers in alliance with England, were quickly made public. But the various constructions and censures which passed upon them have made it necessary to give the reader the following transcript:

"The king being willing to contribute all that is in his power to the re-establishing of the general peace; his majesty declares,

"1. That he will acknowledge the Queen of Great Britain in that quality, as also the succession of that crown according to the settlement.

"2. That he will freely and *bonâ fide* consent to the taking all just and reasonable measures for hindering, that the crowns of France and Spain may ever be united on the heads of the same prince; his majesty being persuaded, that this excess of power would be contrary to the good and quiet of Europe.

"3. The king's intention is, that all the parties engaged in the present war, without excepting any of them, may find their reasonable satisfaction, in the treaty of peace which shall be made; that commerce may be re-established and maintained for the future, to the advantage of Great Britain, of Holland, and of other nations who have been accustomed to exercise commerce.

"4. As the king will likewise maintain exactly the observance of the peace when it shall be concluded, and the object the king proposes to himself being to secure the frontiers of his kingdom, without disturbing in any manner whatever the neighbouring states; he promises to agree, by the treaty which shall be made, that the Dutch shall be put in possession of the fortified places which shall be mentioned in the Netherlands to serve hereafter for a barrier, which may secure the quiet of the republic of Holland against any enterprise from the part of France.

"5. The king consents likewise, that a secure and convenient barrier should be formed for the empire, and for the house of Austria.

"6. Notwithstanding Dunkirk cost the king very great sums, as well to purchase it as to fortify it; and that it is farther necessary to be at very considerable expence for razing the works; his majesty is willing, however, to engage to cause them to be demolished immediately after the conclusion of the peace, on condition, that, for the fortifications of

that place, a proper equivalent, that may content him, be given him: and as England cannot furnish that equivalent, the discussion of it shall be referred to the conferences to be held for the negotiation of the peace.

"7. When the conferences for the negotiation of the peace shall be formed, all the pretensions of the princes and states engaged in the present war shall be therein discussed *bonâ fide* and amicably: and nothing shall be omitted to regulate and terminate them to the satisfaction of all the parties.

"MESNAGER."

These overtures are founded upon the eighth article of the grand alliance made in 1701, wherein are contained the conditions without which a peace is not to be made; and whoever compares both, will find the preliminaries to reach every point proposed in that article, which those who censured them at home, if they spoke their thoughts, did not understand: for nothing can be plainer than what the public has often been told, "that the recovery of Spain from the house of Bourbon was a thing never imagined when the war began, but a just and reasonable satisfaction to the emperor." Much less ought such a condition to be held necessary at present, not only because it is allowed on all hands to be impracticable; but likewise, because, by the changes in the Austrian and Bourbon families, it would not be safe: neither did those who were loudest in blaming the French preliminaries know anything of the advantages privately stipulated for Britain, whose interests, they assured us, were all made a sacrifice to the corruption or folly of the managers; and, therefore, because the opposers of peace have been better informed by what they have since heard and seen, they have

changed their battery, and accused the ministers for betraying the Dutch.

The Lord Raby, her majesty's ambassador at the Hague, having made a short journey to England, where he was created Earl of Strafford, went back to Holland about the beginning of October 1711, with the above preliminaries, in order to communicate them to the pensionary, and other ministers of the States. The earl was instructed to let them know, "That the queen had, according to their desire, returned an answer to the first propositions signed by Mons. Torcy, signifying, that the French offers were thought, both by her majesty and the States, neither so particular nor so full as they ought to be; and insisting to have a distinct project formed, of such a peace as the Most Christian King would be willing to conclude: That this affair having been for some time transacted by papers, and thereby subject to delays, Mons. Mesnager was at length sent over by France, and had signed those preliminaries now communicated to them: That the several articles did not, indeed, contain such particular concessions as France must and will make in the course of a treaty; but that, however, her majesty thought them a sufficient foundation whereon to open the general conferences.

"That her majesty was unwilling to be charged with determining the several interests of her allies, and therefore contented herself with such general offers as might include all the particular demands, proper to be made during the treaty; where the confederates must resolve to adhere firmly together, in order to obtain from the enemy the utmost that could be hoped for in the present circumstances of affairs; which rule, her majesty assured the States, she would, on her part, firmly observe."

If the ministers of Holland should express any

uneasiness, that her majesty may have settled the interest of her own kingdoms, in a future peace, by any private agreement; the ambassador was ordered to say, "That the queen had hitherto refused to have the treaty carried on in her own kingdom, and would continue to do so, unless they (the Dutch) constrained her to take another measure: That by these means, the States and the rest of the allies would have the opportunity of treating and adjusting their different pretensions; which her majesty would promote with all the zeal she had shown for the common good, and the particular advantage of that republic, (as they must do her the justice to confess,) in the whole course of her reign: That the queen had made no stipulation for herself, which might clash with the interests of Holland: And that the articles to be inserted in a future treaty, for the benefit of Britain, were, for the most part, such as contained advantages, which must either be continued to the enemy, or be obtained by her majesty; but, however, that no concession should tempt her to hearken to a peace unless her good friends and allies, the States General, had all reasonable satisfaction as to their trade, and barrier, as well as in all other respects."

After these assurances given in the queen's name, the earl was to insinuate, "That her majesty should have just reason to be offended, and to think the proceedings between her and the States very unequal, if they should pretend to have any farther uneasiness upon this head: That being determined to accept no advantages to herself repugnant to their interests, nor any peace without their reasonable satisfaction, the figure she had made during the whole course of the war, and the part she had acted superior to any of the allies, who were more concerned in danger and interest, might justly entitle

her to settle the concerns of Great Britain, before she would consent to a general negotiation."

If the States should object the engagements the queen was under by treaties of making no peace but in concert with them, or the particular obligations of the barrier-treaty; the ambassador was to answer, "That as to the former, her majesty had not in any sort acted contrary thereto: That she was so far from making a peace without their consent, as to declare her firm resolution not to make it without their satisfaction; and that what had passed between France and her, amounted to no more than an introduction to a general treaty." As to the latter, the earl had orders to represent very earnestly, "How much it was even for the interest of Holland itself, rather to compound the advantage of the barrier-treaty, than to insist upon the whole, which the house of Austria, and several other allies, would never consent to: That nothing could be more odious to the people of England than many parts of this treaty; which would have raised universal indignation, if the utmost care had not been taken to quiet the minds of those who were acquainted with the terms of that guaranty, and to conceal them from those who were not: That it was absolutely necessary to maintain a good harmony between both nations, without which it would be impossible at any time to form a strength for reducing an exorbitant power, or preserving the balance of Europe; whence it followed, that it could not be the true interest of either country to insist upon any conditions, which might give just apprehension to the other.

"That France had proposed Utrecht, Nimeguen, Aix, or Liege, wherein to hold the general treaty; and her majesty was ready to send her plenipotentiaries to whichever of those towns the States should approve."

If the imperial ministers, or those of the other allies, should object against the preliminaries as no sufficient ground for opening the conferences, and insist that France should consent to such articles as were signed on the part of the allies in the year 1709, the Earl of Strafford was, in answer, directed to insinuate, "That the French might have probably been brought to explain themselves more particularly, had they not perceived the uneasiness, impatience, and jealousy among the allies, during our transactions with that court." However, he should declare to them, in the queen's name, "That, if they were determined to accept of peace upon no terms inferior to what was formerly demanded, her majesty was ready to concur with them; but would no longer bear those disproportions of expence yearly increased upon her, nor the deficiency of the confederates in every part of the war: That it was therefore incumbent upon them to furnish, for the future, such quotas of ships and forces as they were now wanting in, and to increase their expence, while her majesty reduced hers to a reasonable and just proportion."

That, if the ministers of Vienna and Holland should urge their inability upon this head, the queen insisted, "They ought to comply with her in war or in peace; her majesty desiring nothing as to the first, but what they ought to perform, and what is absolutely necessary: and as to the latter, that she had done, and would continue to do, the utmost in her power towards obtaining such a peace as might be to the satisfaction of all her allies."

Some days after the Earl of Strafford's departure to Holland, Mons. Buys, pensionary of Amsterdam, arrived here from thence, with instructions from his masters, to treat upon the subject of the French preliminaries, and the methods for carrying on the war. In his first conference with a committee of

council, he objected against all the articles, as too general and uncertain; and against some of them, as prejudicial. He said, "The French promising that trade should be re-established and maintained for the future was meant in order to deprive the Dutch of their tariff of 1604; for the plenipotentiaries of that crown would certainly expound the word *rétablir*, to signify no more than restoring the trade of the States to the condition it was in immediately before the commencement of the present war." He said, "That in the article of Dunkirk, the destruction of the harbour was not mentioned; and that the fortifications were only to be razed upon condition of an equivalent, which might occasion a difference between her majesty and the States; since Holland would think it hard to have a town less in their barrier for the demolition of Dunkirk; and England would complain, to have this thorn continue in their side, for the sake of giving one town more to the Dutch." Lastly, he objected, "That where the French promised effectual methods should be taken to prevent the union of France and Spain under the same king, they offered nothing at all for the cession of Spain, which was the most important point of the war.

"For these reasons, Monsieur Buys hoped her majesty would alter her measures, and demand specific articles, upon which the allies might debate, whether they would consent to a negotiation or not."

The queen, who looked upon all these difficulties raised about the method of treating, as endeavours to wrest the negotiation out of her hands, commanded the lords of the committee to let Monsieur Buys know, "That the experience she formerly had, of proceeding by particular preliminaries toward a general treaty, gave her no encouragement to repeat the same method any more: That such a preliminary

treaty must be negotiated either by some particular allies, or by all; the first her majesty could never suffer, since she would neither take upon her to settle the interest of others, nor submit that others should settle those of her own kingdoms; as to the second, it was liable to Monsieur Buys's objection, because the ministers of France would have as fair an opportunity of sowing division among the allies, when they were all assembled upon a preliminary treaty, as when the conferences were open for a negotiation of peace: That this method could therefore have no other effect than to delay the treaty, without any advantage: That her majesty was heartily disposed, both then and during the negotiation, to insist on everything necessary for securing the barrier and commerce of the States; and therefore hoped the conferences might be opened, without farther difficulties.

"That her majesty did not only consent, but desire, to have a plan settled for carrying on the war, as soon as the negotiation of peace should begin; but expected to have the burden more equally laid, and more agreeable to treaties: and would join with the States in pressing the allies to perform their parts, as she had endeavoured to animate them by her example."

Mons. Buys seemed to know little of his masters' mind, and pretended he had no power to conclude upon anything. Her majesty's minister proposed to him an alliance between the two nations, to subsist after a peace. To this he hearkened very readily; and offered to take the matter *ad referendum*, having authority to do no more. His intention was, that he might appear to negotiate, in order to gain time to pick out, if possible, the whole secret of the transactions between Britain and France; to disclose nothing himself, nor bind

his masters to any conditions; to seek delays till the parliament met, and then observe what turn it took, and what would be the issue of those frequent cabals between himself and some other foreign ministers, in conjunction with the chief leaders of the discontented faction.

The Dutch hoped, that the clamours raised against the proceedings of the queen's ministers toward a peace, would make the parliament disapprove what had been done; whereby the States would be at the head of the negotiation, which the queen did not think fit to have any more in their hands, where it had miscarried twice already; although Prince Eugene himself owned, "That France was then disposed to conclude a peace upon such conditions, that it was not worth the life of a grenadier to refuse them." As to insisting upon specific preliminaries, her majesty thought her own method much better, "for each ally, in the course of the negotiation, to advance and manage his own pretensions, wherein she would support and assist them:" rather than for two ministers of one ally to treat solely with the enemy, and report what they pleased to the rest, as was practised by the Dutch at Gertruydenberg.

One part of Mons. Buys's instructions was, "To desire the queen not to be so far amused by a treaty of peace, as to neglect her preparation for war against the next campaign." Her majesty, who was firmly resolved against submitting any longer to that unequal burden of expence she had hitherto lain under, commanded Mr. Secretary St. John to debate the matter with that minister; who said, "He had no power to treat; only insisted, that his masters had fully done their part; and that nothing but exhortations could be used to prevail on the other allies to act with greater vigour."

On the other side, the queen refused to concert any plan for the prosecution of the war, till the States would join with her in agreeing to open the conferences of peace: which, therefore, by Mons. Buys's application to them, was accordingly done, by a resolution taken in Holland upon the 21st of November 1711, N.S.

About this time the Count de Gallas was forbid the court, by order from the queen; who sent him word, "that she looked upon him no longer as a public minister."

This gentleman thought fit to act a very dishonourable part here in England, altogether inconsistent with the character he bore of envoy from the late and present emperors; two princes under the strictest ties of gratitude to the queen, especially the latter, who had then the title of King of Spain. Count Gallas, about the end of August 1711, with the utmost privacy, dispatched an Italian, one of his clerks, to Frankfort, where the Earl of Peterborough was then expected. This man was instructed to pass for a Spaniard, and insinuate himself into the earl's service; which he accordingly did, and gave constant information to the last emperor's secretary at Frankfort, of all he could gather up in his lordship's family, as well as copies of several letters he had transcribed. It was likewise discovered, that Gallas had in his dispatches to the present emperor, then in Spain, represented the queen and her ministers as not to be confided in: "That when her majesty had dismissed the Earl of Sunderland, she promised to proceed no farther in the change of her servants; yet soon after turned them all out, and thereby ruined the public credit, as well as abandoned Spain: That the present ministers wanted the abilities and good dispositions of the former; were

persons of ill designs, and enemies to the common cause, and he (Gallas) could not trust them." In his letter to Count Zinzendorf, he said, "That Mr. Secretary St. John complained of the house of Austria's backwardness only to make the King of Spain odious to England, and the people here desirous of a peace, although it were ever so bad; to prevent which Count Gallas drew up a memorial which he intended to give the queen, and transmitted a draught of it to Zinzendorf for his advice and approbation. This memorial, among other great promises to encourage the continuance of the war, proposed the attaching of a good body of troops from Hungary to serve in Italy or Spain, as the queen should think fit.

Zinzendorf thought this too bold a step without consulting the emperor: to which Gallas replied, "That his design was only to engage the queen to go on with the war: That Zinzendorf knew how earnestly the English and Dutch had pressed to have these troops from Hungary; and therefore they ought to be promised, in order to quiet those two nations; after which, several ways might be found to elude that promise; and in the meantime, the great point would be gained, of bringing the English to declare for continuing the war: That the emperor might afterwards excuse himself, by the apprehension of a war in Hungary, or of that between the Turks and Muscovites: That if these excuses should be at an end, a detachment of one or two regiments might be sent, and the rest deferred by pretending want of money; by which the queen would probably be brought to maintain some part of those troops, and perhaps the whole body." He added, "That this way of management was very common among the allies;" and gave for an example, the forces which the Dutch had pro-

mised for the service of Spain, but were never sent; with several other instances of the same kind, which, he said, might be produced.

Her majesty, who had long suspected that Count Gallas was engaged in these and the like practices, having at last received authentic proofs of this whole intrigue, from original letters and the voluntary confession of those who were principally concerned in carrying it on, thought it necessary to show her resentment, by refusing the count any more access to her person or her court.

Although the queen, as it has been already observed, was resolved to open the conferences upon the general preliminaries; yet she thought it would very much forward the peace, to know what were the utmost concessions which France would make to the several allies, but especially to the States General, and the Duke of Savoy. Therefore, while her majesty was pressing the former to agree to a general treaty, the Abbé Gualtier was sent to France, with a memorial, to desire that the Most Christian King would explain himself upon those preliminaries, particularly with relation to Savoy and Holland, whose satisfaction the queen had most at heart; as well from her friendship to both these powers, as because, if she might engage to them, that their just pretensions would be allowed, few difficulties would remain, of any moment, to retard the general peace.

The French answer to this memorial contained several schemes and proposals for the satisfaction of each ally, coming up very near to what her majesty and her ministers thought reasonable. The greatest difficulties seemed to be about the Elector of Bavaria, for whose interests France appeared to be as much concerned, as the queen was for those of the Duke of Savoy. However, those were judged not very hard to be surmounted.

The States having at length agreed to a general treaty, the following particulars were concerted between her majesty and that republic:

"That the congress should be held at Utrecht.

"That the opening of the congress should be upon the 12th of January, N.S. 1711–12.

"That, for avoiding all inconveniences of ceremony, the ministers of the queen and States, during the treaty, should only have the characters of plenipotentiaries, and not take that of ambassadors, till the day on which the peace should be signed.

"Lastly, The queen and States insisted, that the ministers of the Duke of Anjou, and the late Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, should not appear at the congress, until the points relating to their masters were adjusted; and were firmly resolved not to send their passports for the ministers of France, till the Most Christian King declared that the absence of the forementioned ministers should not delay the progress of the negotiation."

Pursuant to the three former articles, her majesty wrote circular letters to all the allies engaged with her in the present war; and France had notice, "That, as soon as the king declared his compliance with the last article, the blank passports should be filled up with the names of the Mareschal D'Uxelles, the Abbé De Polignac, and Mons. Mesnager, who were appointed plenipotentiaries for that crown."

From what I have hitherto deduced, the reader sees the plan which the queen thought the most effectual for advancing a peace. As the conferences were to begin upon the general preliminaries, the queen was to be empowered by France, to offer separately to the allies, what might be reasonable for each to accept; and her own interests being previously settled, she was to act as a general mediator; a figure that became her best, from the part she had

in the war, and more useful to the great end at which she aimed, of giving a safe and honourable peace to Europe.

Besides, it was absolutely necessary for the interests of Britain, that the queen should be at the head of the negotiation: without which, her majesty could find no expedient to redress the injuries her kingdoms were sure to suffer by the barrier-treaty. In order to settle this point with the States, the ministers here had a conference with Mons. Buys, a few days before the parliament met. He was told, "How necessary it was, by previous concert between the emperor, the queen, and the States, to prevent any difference which might arise in the course of the treaty at Utrecht; that, under pretence of a barrier for the States General, as their security against France, infinite prejudice might arise to the trade of Britain in the Spanish Netherlands; for, by the fifteenth article of the barrier-treaty, in consequence of what was stipulated by that of Munster, the queen was brought to engage, that commerce shall not be rendered more easy, in point of duties, by the sea-ports of Flanders, than it is by the river Scheld, and by the canals on the side of the Seven Provinces; which, as things now stood, was very unjust; for, while the towns in Flanders were in the hands of France or Spain, the Dutch and we traded to them upon equal foot; but now, since by the barrier-treaty those towns were to be possessed by the States, that republic might lay what duties they pleased upon British goods, after passing by Ostend, and make their own custom free, which would utterly ruin our whole trade with Flanders."

Upon this, the lords told Mons. Buys very frankly, "That, if the States expected the queen should support their barrier, as their demands from France and the house of Austria upon that head,

they ought to agree that the subjects of Britain should trade as freely to all the countries and places, which, by virtue of any former or future treaty, were to become the barrier of the States, as they did in the time of the late King Charles the Second of Spain, or as the subjects of the States General themselves shall do; and it is hoped, their High Mightinesses would never scruple to rectify a mistake so injurious to that nation, without whose blood and treasure they would have had no barrier at all." Mons. Buys had nothing to answer against these objections; but said, "He had already wrote to his masters for farther instructions."

Greater difficulties occurred about settling what should be the barrier to the States after a peace: the envoy insisting to have all the towns that were named in the treaty of barrier and succession; and the queen's ministers excepting those towns, which, if they continued in the hands of the Dutch, would render the trade of Britain to Flanders precarious. At length it was agreed in general, that the States ought to have what is really essential to the security of their barrier against France; and that some amicable expedient should be found, for removing the fears both of Britain and Holland upon this point.

But at the same time Mons. Buys was told, "That although the queen would certainly insist to obtain all those points from France, in behalf of her allies, the States; yet she hoped his masters were too reasonable to break off the treaty, rather than not obtain the very utmost of their demands, which could not be settled here unless he were fully instructed to speak and conclude upon that subject: That her majesty thought the best way of securing the common interest, and preventing the division of the allies, by the artifices of France in the course of

a long negotiation, would be, to concert between the queen's ministers and those of the States, with a due regard to the other confederates, such a plan, as might amount to a safe and honourable peace. After which, the Abbé Polignac, who, of the French plenipotentiaries, was most in the secret of his court, might be told that it was in vain to amuse each other any longer; that on such terms the peace would be immediately concluded; and that the conferences must cease, if those conditions were not, without delay, and with expedition, granted."

A treaty between her majesty and the States, to subsist after a peace, was now signed, Mons. Buys having received full powers to that purpose. His masters were desirous to have a private article added *sub sperati*, concerning those terms of peace; without the granting of which we should stipulate not to agree with the enemy. But neither the character of Buys, nor the manner in which he was empowered to treat, would allow the queen to enter into such an engagement. The congress likewise approaching, there was not time to settle a point of so great importance. Neither, lastly, would her majesty be tied down by Holland, without previous satisfaction upon several articles in the barrier treaty, so inconsistent with her engagements to other powers in the alliance, and so injurious to her own kingdoms.

The lord privy seal and the Earl of Strafford having, about the time the parliament met, been appointed her majesty's plenipotentiaries for treating on a general peace: I shall here break off the account of any farther progress made in that great affair, until I resume it in the last Book of this History.

THE

HISTORY

OF

THE FOUR LAST YEARS

OF THE

QUEEN.

BOOK III.

THE House of Commons seemed resolved, from the beginning of the session, to inquire strictly, not only into all abuses relating to the accounts of the army, but likewise into the several treaties between us and our allies, upon what articles and conditions they were first agreed to, and how these had been since observed. In the first week of their sitting, they sent an address to the queen, to desire that the treaty, whereby her majesty was obliged to furnish forty thousand men, to act in conjunction with the forces of her allies in the Low Countries, might be laid before the House. To which the secretary of state brought an answer, "That search had been made, but no footsteps could be found of

any treaty or convention for that purpose." It was this unaccountable neglect in the former ministry, which first gave a pretence to the allies for lessening their quotas, so much to the disadvantage of her majesty, her kingdoms, and the common cause, in the course of the war. It had been stipulated by the grand alliance between the emperor, Britain, and the States, "That those three states should assist each other with their whole force; and that the several proportions should be specified in a particular convention." But if any such convention were made, it was never ratified; only the parties agreed, by common consent, to take each a certain share of the burden upon themselves, which the late King William communicated to the House of Commons by his secretary of state; and which afterwards the other two powers, observing the mighty zeal in our ministry for prolonging the war, eluded as they pleased.

The commissioners for stating the public accounts of the kingdom had, in executing their office the preceding summer, discovered several practices relating to the affairs of the army; which they drew up in a report, and delivered to the House.

The Commons began their examination of the report with a member of their own, Mr. Robert Walpole, already mentioned p. 40; who, during his being secretary at war, had received five hundred guineas, and taken a note for five hundred pounds more, on account of two contracts for forage of the queen's troops quartered in Scotland. He endeavoured to excuse the first contract; but had nothing to say about the second. The first appeared so plain and so scandalous to the Commons, that they voted the author of it guilty of a high breach of trust, and notorious corruption, committed him prisoner to the Tower, where he continued to the

end of the session, and expelled him the House. He was a person much caressed by the opposers of the queen and ministry; having been first drawn into their party by his indifference to any principles, and afterwards kept steady by the loss of his place. His bold, forward countenance, altogether a stranger to that infirmity which makes men bashful, joined to a readiness of speaking in public, has justly entitled him among those of his faction, to be a sort of leader in the second form. The reader must excuse me for being so particular about one, who is otherwise altogether obscure.*

Another part of the report concerned the Duke of Marlborough, who had received large sums of money, by way of gratuity, from those who were the undertakers for providing the army with bread. This the duke excused, in a letter to the commissioners, from the like practice of other generals: but that excuse appeared to be of little weight, and the mischievous consequences of such a corruption were visible enough; since the money given by these undertakers were but bribes for connivance at their indirect dealings with the army. And, as frauds that begin at the top are apt to spread through all the subordinate ranks of those who have any share in the management, and to increase as they circulate; so, in this case, for every thousand pounds given to the general, the soldiers at least suffered fourfold.

Another article of this report, relating to the duke, was yet of more importance. The greatest part of her majesty's forces in Flanders were mer-

* It is singular, that Swift, correcting the History in 1736, should have left this passage unaltered; for whatever else he might have thought proper to say of Sir Robert Walpole, the term *obscure* was totally inapplicable to him.

cenary troops, hired from several princes of Europe. It was found that the queen's general subtracted two-and-half per cent. out of the pay of those troops for his own use, which amounted to a great annual sum. The Duke of Marlborough, in his letter already mentioned, endeavouring to extenuate the matter, told the commissioners, "That this deduction was a free gift from the foreign troops, which he had negotiated with them by the late king's orders, and had obtained the queen's warrant for reserving and receiving it: That it was intended for secret service, the ten thousand pounds a year given by parliament not proving sufficient; and had all been laid out that way." The commissioners observed, in answer, "That the warrant was kept dormant for nine years, as indeed no entry of it appeared in the secretary of state's books, and the deduction of it concealed all that time from the knowledge of parliament: That if it had been a free gift from the foreign troops, it would not have been stipulated by agreement, as the duke's letter confessed, and as his warrant declared; which latter affirmed this stoppage to be intended for defraying extraordinary contingent expences of the troops, and therefore should not have been applied to secret services." They submitted to the House whether the warrant itself were legal or duly counter-signed. The commissioners added, "That no receipt was ever given for this deducted money; nor was it mentioned in any receipts from the foreign troops, which were always taken in full. And lastly, That the whole sum, on computation, amounted to near three hundred thousand pounds."

The House, after a long debate, resolved, "That the taking several sums from the contractors for bread for the Duke of Marlborough was unwarrantable and illegal; and that the two and a half per

cent. deducted from the foreign troops was public money, and ought to be accounted for:" which resolutions were laid before the queen by the whole House, and her majesty promised to do her part in redressing what was complained of. The duke and his friends had, about the beginning of the war, by their credit with the queen, procured a warrant from her majesty for this perquisite of two and a half per cent. The warrant was directed to the Duke of Marlborough, and countersigned by Sir Charles Hedges, then secretary of state; by virtue of which, the paymaster-general of the army was to pay the said deducted money to the general, and take a receipt in full from the foreign troops.

It was observed, as very commendable and becoming the dignity of such an assembly, that this debate was managed with great temper, and with few personal reflections upon the Duke of Marlborough. They seemed only desirous to come at the truth, without which they could not answer the trust reposed in them by those whom they represented; and left the rest to her majesty's prudence. The attorney-general was ordered to commence an action against the duke for the subtracted money; which would have amounted to a great sum, enough to ruin any private person, except himself. This process is still depending, although very moderately pursued, either by the queen's indulgence to one whom she had formerly so much trusted; or, perhaps, to be revived or slackened, according to the future demeanour of the defendant.

Some time after, Mr. Cardonnell,* a member of parliament, and secretary to the general in Flanders,

* James Cardonnell, Esq., secretary to the Duke of Marlborough, shared in his disgrace.

was expelled the House, for the offence of receiving yearly bribes from those who had contracted to furnish bread for the army; and met with no farther punishment for a practice voted to be unwarrantable and corrupt.

These were all the censures of any moment which the Commons, under so great a weight of business, thought fit to make, upon the reports of their commissioners for inspecting the public accounts. But having promised, in the beginning of this History, to examine the state of the nation, with respect to its debts; by what negligence or corruption they first began, and in process of time made such a prodigious increase; and, lastly, what courses have been taken, under the present administration, to find out funds for answering so many unprovided incumbrances, as well as put a stop to new ones; I shall endeavour to satisfy the reader upon this important article.

By all I have yet read of the history of our own country, it appears to me, that the national debts, secured upon parliamentary funds of interest, were things unknown in England before the last Revolution under the Prince of Orange. It is true, that in the grand rebellion the king's enemies borrowed money of particular persons, upon what they called the public faith; but this was only for short periods, and the sums no more than what they could pay at once, as they constantly did. Some of our kings have been very profuse in peace and war, and are blamed in history for their oppressions of the people by severe taxes, and for borrowing money which they never paid; but national debts was a style, which, I doubt, would hardly then be understood. When the Prince of Orange was raised to the throne, and a general war began in these parts of Europe, the king and his counsellors

thought it would be ill policy to commence his reign with heavy taxes upon the people, who had lived long in ease and plenty, and might be apt to think their deliverance too dearly bought; wherefore, one of the first actions of the new government was to take off the tax upon chimneys, as a burden very ungrateful to the commonalty. But money being wanted to support the war, (which even the convention parliament, that put the crown upon his head, were very unwilling he should engage in,) the present Bishop of Salisbury * is said to have found out that expedient (which he had learned in Holland) of raising money upon the security of taxes, that were only sufficient to pay a large interest. The motives which prevailed on people to fall in with this project were many and plausible; for, supposing, as the ministers industriously gave out, that the war could not last above one or two campaigns at most, it might be carried on with very moderate taxes; and the debts accruing would, in process of time, be easily cleared after a peace. Then the bait of large interest would draw in a great number of those, whose money, by the danger and difficulties of trade, lay dead upon their hands; and whoever were lenders to the government would, by surest principle, be obliged to support it. Besides, the men of estates could not be persuaded, without time and difficulty, to have those taxes laid on their lands, which custom has since made so familiar; and it was the business of such as were then in power to cultivate a monied interest; because the gentry of the kingdom did not very much relish those new notions in government, to which the king, who had imbibed his politics in his own country, was thought to give too much way.

* Dr. Gilbert Burnet.

Neither, perhaps, did that prince think national incumbrances to be any evil at all; since the flourishing republic where he was born is thought to owe more than ever it will be able or willing to pay. And I remember, when I mentioned to Mons. Buys the many millions we owed, he would advance it as a maxim, "That it was for the interest of the public to be in debt;" which, perhaps, may be true in a commonwealth so crazily instituted, where the governors cannot have too many pledges of their subjects' fidelity, and where a great majority must inevitably be undone by any revolution, however brought about. But to prescribe the same rules to a monarch, whose wealth arises from the rents and improvements of lands, as well as trade and manufactures, is the mark of a confined and cramped understanding.

I was moved to speak thus, because I am very well satisfied that the pernicious counsels of borrowing money upon public funds of interest, as well as some other state lessons, were taken indigested from the like practices among the Dutch, without allowing in the least for any difference in government, religion, law, custom, extent of country, or manners and dispositions of the people.

But when this expedient of anticipations and mortgages was first put in practice, artful men, in office and credit, began to consider what uses it might be applied to; and soon found it was likely to prove the most fruitful seminary, not only to establish a faction they intended to set up for their own support, but likewise to raise vast wealth for themselves in particular, who were to be the managers and directors in it. It was manifest, that nothing could promote these two designs so much as burdening the nation with debts, and giving encouragement to lenders: for, as to the first, it was

not to be doubted that monied men would be always firm to the party of those who advised the borrowing upon such good security, and with such exorbitant premiums and interest; and every new sum that was lent took away as much power from the landed men as it added to theirs: so that, the deeper the kingdom was engaged, it was still the better for them. Thus a new estate and property sprung up in the hands of mortgagees, to whom every house and foot of land in England paid a rent charge, free of all taxes and defalcations, and purchased at less than half value. So that the gentlemen of estates were, in effect, but tenants to these new landlords; many of whom were able in time to force the election of boroughs out of the hands of those who had been the old proprietors and inhabitants. This was arrived at such a height, that a very few years more of war and funds would have clearly cast the balance on the monied side.

As to the second, this project of borrowing upon funds was of mighty advantage to those who were in the management of it, as well as to their friends and dependants; for, funds proving often deficient, the government was obliged to strike tallies for making up the rest; which tallies were sometimes (to speak in the merchant's phrase) at above forty *per cent.* discount. At this price, those who were in the secret bought them up, and then took care to have that deficiency supplied in the next session of parliament; by which they doubled their principal in a few months: and for the encouragement of lenders, every new project of lotteries or annuities proposed some farther advantage, either as to interest or premium.

In the year 1697, a general mortgage was made of certain revenues and taxes already settled, which amounted to near a million a year. This mortgage

was to continue till 1706, to be a fund for the payment of above five millions one hundred thousand pounds. In the first parliament of the queen the said mortgage was continued till 1710, to supply a deficiency of two millions three hundred thousand pounds, and interest of above a million; and in the intermediate years a great part of that fund was branched out into annuities for ninety-nine years: so that the late ministry raised all their money, to 1710, only by continuing funds, which were already granted to their hands. This deceived the people in general, who were satisfied to continue the payments they had been accustomed to; and made the administration seem easy, since the war went on without any new taxes raised, except the very last year they were in power; not considering what a mighty fund was exhausted, and must be perpetuated, although extremely injurious to trade, and to the true interest of the nation.

This great fund of the general mortgage was not only loaded, year after year, by mighty sums borrowed upon it, but with the interest due upon those sums: for which the treasury was forced to strike tallies, payable out of that fund, after all the money already borrowed upon it, there being no other provision of interest for three or four years; till at last, the fund was so overloaded, that it could neither pay principal nor interest; and tallies were struck for both, which occasioned their great discount.

But, to avoid mistakes upon a subject where I am not very well versed either in the style or matter, I will transcribe an account sent me by Sir John Blunt, who is thoroughly instructed in these affairs:

"In the year 1707, the sum of eight hundred twenty-two thousand three hundred and eighty-one pounds, fifteen shillings, and sixpence, was raised,

by continuing part of the general mortgage from 1710 to 1712; but with no provision of interest till August the first, 1710, otherwise than by striking tallies for it on that fund, payable after all the other money borrowed.

"In 1708, the same funds were continued from 1712 to 1714, to raise seven hundred twenty-nine thousand sixty-seven pounds, fifteen shillings, and sixpence; but no provision for interest till August the first, 1712, otherwise than as before, by striking tallies for it on the same fund payable after all the rest of the money borrowed. And the discount of tallies then beginning to rise, great part of that money remained unraised; and there is nothing to pay interest for the money lent, till August the first, 1712. But the late lord-treasurer struck tallies for the full sum directed by the act to be borrowed; great part of which have been delivered in payment to the navy and victualling offices; and some are still in the hands of the government.

"In 1709, part of the same fund was continued from August the first, 1714, to August the first, 1716, to raise six hundred forty-five thousand pounds: and no provision for interest till August the first, 1714, (which was about five years,) but by borrowing money on the same fund, payable after the sums before lent; so that little of that money was lent. But the tallies were struck for what was unlent; some of which were given out for the payment of the navy and victualling; and some still remain in the hands of the government.

"In 1710, the sums which were before given from 1714 to 1716 were continued from thence to 1720, to raise one million two hundred ninety-six thousand five hundred and fifty-two pounds, nine shillings, and elevenpence three farthings; and no immediate provision for interest till August the first,

1716: only, after the duty of one shilling per bushel on salt should be cleared from the money it was then charged with, and which was not so cleared till Midsummer 1712 last; then that fund was to be applied to pay the interest till August the first, 1716; which interest amounted to about seventy-seven thousand seven hundred and ninety-three pounds *per annum:* and the said salt fund produced but about fifty-five thousand pounds *per annum:* so that no money was borrowed upon the general mortgage in 1710, except one hundred and fifty thousand pounds lent by the Swiss Cantons; but tallies were struck for the whole sum. These all remained in the late treasurer's hands at the time of his removal; yet the money was suspended, which occasioned those great demands upon the commissioners of the treasury who succeeded him, and were forced to pawn those tallies to the bank, or to remitters, rather than sell them at twenty or twenty-five *per cent.* discount, as the price then was. About two hundred thousand pounds of them they paid to clothiers of the army and others; and all the rest, being above ninety thousand pounds, have been subscribed into the South Sea Company, for the use of the public."

When the Earl of Godolphin was removed from his employment, he left a debt upon the navy of several millions, all contracted under his administration, which had no parliament security, and was daily increased. Neither could I ever learn, whether that lord had the smallest prospect of clearing this incumbrance, or whether there were policy, negligence, or despair, at the bottom of this unaccountable management. But the consequences were visible and ruinous; for by this means navy bills grew to be forty *per cent.* discount, and upwards; and almost every kind of stores, bought

by the navy and victualling offices, cost the government double rates, and sometimes more; so that the public has directly lost several millions upon this one article, without any sort of necessity, that I could ever hear assigned by the ablest vindicators of that party.

In this oppressed and entangled state was the kingdom, with relation to its debts, when the queen removed the Earl of Godolphin from his office, and put it into commission, of which the present treasurer was one. This person had been chosen speaker successively to three parliaments, was afterwards secretary of state, and always in great esteem with the queen for his wisdom and fidelity. The late ministry, about two years before their fall, had prevailed with her majesty, much against her inclination, to dismiss him from her service; for which they cannot be justly blamed, since he had endeavoured the same thing against them, and very narrowly failed; which makes it the more extraordinary, that he should succeed in a second attempt, against those very adversaries, who had such fair warning by the first. He is firm and steady in his resolutions, not easily diverted from them after he has once possessed himself of an opinion that they are right; nor very communicative where he can act by himself, being taught by experience, "That a secret is seldom safe in more than one breast." That which occurs to other men after mature deliberation, offers to him as his first thoughts; so that he decides immediately what is best to be done, and therefore is seldom at a loss upon sudden exigencies. He thinks it a more easy and safe rule in politics, to watch incidents as they come, and then turn them to the advantage of what he pursues, than to pretend to foresee them at a great distance. Fear, cruelty, avarice,

and pride, are wholly strangers to his nature; but he is not without ambition. There is one thing peculiar in his temper, which I altogether disapprove, and do not remember to have heard or met with in any other man's character; I mean an easiness and indifference under any imputation, although he be ever so innocent, and although the strongest probabilities and appearances are against him; so that I have known him often suspected by his nearest friends, for some months, in points of the highest importance, to a degree that they were ready to break with him, and only undeceived by time and accident. His detractors, who charge him with cunning, are but ill acquainted with his character; for, in the sense they take the word, and as it is usually understood, I know no man to whom that mean talent could be with less justice applied, as the conduct of affairs, while he has been at the helm, does clearly demonstrate, very contrary to the nature and principles of cunning, which is always employed in serving little turns, proposing little ends, and supplying daily exigencies by little shifts and expedients.* But to rescue a prince out of the hands of insolent subjects, bent upon such designs as must probably end in the ruin of the government; to find out means for paying such exorbitant debts as this nation hath been involved in, and reduce it to a better management; to make a potent enemy offer advantageous terms of peace, and deliver up the most important fortress of his kingdom as a security; and this against all the opposition mutu-

* The following character is given of Harley in the Apology of the Duchess of Marlborough. "He was a cunning and a dark man, of too small abilities to do much good, but of all the qualities requisite to do mischief, and to bring on the ruin and destruction of a nation," p. 261.

ally raised and inflamed by parties and allies; such performances can only be called cunning by those whose want of understanding, or of candour, puts them upon finding ill names for great qualities of the mind, which themselves do neither possess, nor can form any just conception of. However, it must be allowed, that an obstinate love of secrecy in this minister seems, at distance, to have some resemblance of cunning; for he is not only very retentive of secrets, but appears to be so too; which I number among his defects. He has been blamed by his friends, for refusing to discover his intentions, even in those points where the wisest man may have need of advice and assistance; and some have censured him upon that account, as if he were jealous of power: but he has been heard to answer, "That he seldom did otherwise, without cause to repent."

However, so undistinguished a caution cannot, in my opinion, be justified, by which the owner loses many advantages, and whereof all men who deserve to be confided in may, with some reason, complain. His love of procrastination (wherein doubtless nature has her share) may probably be increased by the same means; but this is an imputation laid upon many other great ministers, who, like men under too heavy a load, let fall that which is of the least consequence, and go back to fetch it when their shoulders are free; for, time is often gained, as well as lost, by delay, which, at worst, is a fault on the securer side. Neither probably is this minister answerable for half the clamour raised against him upon that article: his endeavours are wholly turned upon the general welfare of his country, but perhaps with too little regard to that of particular persons; which renders him less amiable than he would otherwise have

been, from the goodness of his humour, and agreeable conversation in a private capacity, and with few dependers. Yet some allowance may perhaps be given to this failing, which is one of the greatest he has; since he cannot be more careless of other men's fortunes than he is of his own. He is master of a very great and faithful memory; which is of mighty use in the management of public affairs; and I believe there are few examples to be produced, in any age, of a person who has passed through so many employments in the state, endowed with a greater share both of divine and human learning.

I am persuaded that foreigners, as well as those at home who live too remote from the scene of business to be rightly informed, will not be displeased with this account of a person, who, in the space of two years, has been so highly instrumental in changing the face of affairs in Europe, and has deserved so well of his own prince and country.

In that perplexed condition of the public debts which I have already described, this minister was brought into the treasury and exchequer, and had the chief direction of affairs. His first regulation was that of exchequer bills, which, to the great discouragement of public credit, and scandal to the crown, were three *per cent.* less in value than the sums specified in them. The present treasurer, being then chancellor of the exchequer, procured an act of parliament, by which the bank of England should be obliged, in consideration of forty-five thousand pounds, to accept and circulate those bills without any discount. He then proceeded to stop the depredations of those who dealt in remittances of money to the army; who, by unheard of exactions in that kind of traffic, had amassed prodigious wealth at the public cost: to which the Earl of

Godolphin had given too much way, possibly by neglect, for I think he cannot be accused of corruption.

But the new treasurer's chief concern was to restore the credit of the nation, by finding some settlement for unprovided debts, amounting in the whole to ten millions, which hung on the public as a load equally heavy and disgraceful, without any prospect of being removed, and which former ministers never had the care or courage to inspect. He resolved to go at once to the bottom of this evil; and having computed and summed up the debt of the navy and victualling, ordnance, and transport of the army, and transport debentures made out for the service of the last war, of the general mortgage tallies for the year 1710, and some other deficiencies, he then found out a fund of interest sufficient to answer all this: which, being applied to other uses, could not raise present money for the war, but in a very few years would clear the debt it was engaged for. The intermediate accruing interest was to be paid by the treasurer of the navy; and as a farther advantage to the creditors, they should be erected into a company for trading to the South Seas, and for encouragement of fishery. When all this was fully prepared and digested, he made a motion in the House of Commons (who deferred extremely to his judgment and abilities) for paying the debts of the navy and other unprovided deficiencies, without entering into particulars; which was immediately voted. But a sudden stop was put to this affair by an unforeseen accident; the chancellor of the exchequer (which was then his title) being stabbed with a penknife, the following day, at the Cockpit, in the midst of a dozen lords of the council, by the Sieur de Guiscard, a French papist; the circumstances of which fact

being not within the compass of this History, I shall only observe, that, after two months' confinement, and frequent danger of his life, he returned to his seat in parliament.

The overtures made by this minister, of paying so vast a debt under the pressures of a long war and the difficulty of finding supplies for continuing it, was, during the time of his illness, ridiculed by his enemies as an impracticable and visionary project: and when, upon his return to the House, he had explained his proposal, the very proprietors of the debt were, many of them, prevailed on to oppose it; although the obtaining this trade either through Old Spain, or directly to the Spanish West Indies, had been one principal end we aimed at by this war. However, the bill passed; and, as an immediate consequence, the navy bills rose to about twenty *per cent.* nor ever fell within ten of their discount. Another good effect of this work appeared by the parliamentary lotteries, which have since been erected. The last of that kind, under the former ministry, was eleven weeks in filling; whereas the first, under the present, was filled in a very few hours, although it cost the government less; and the others which followed were full before the acts concerning them could pass. And to prevent incumbrances of this kind from growing for the future, he took care, by the utmost parsimony, or by suspending payments where they seemed less to press, that all stores for the navy should be bought with ready money; by which *cent. per cent.* has been saved in that mighty article of our expence, as will appear from an account taken at the victualling office on the 9th of August 1712. And the payment of the interest was less a burden upon the navy, by the stores being bought at so cheap a rate.

It might look invidious to enter into farther particulars upon this head, but of smaller moment. What I have above related may serve to show in how ill a condition the kingdom stood, with relation to its debts, by the corruption, as well as negligence, of former management; and what prudent effectual measures have since been taken to provide for old incumbrances, and hinder the running into new. This may be sufficient for the information of the reader, perhaps already tired with a subject so little entertaining as that of accompts: I shall therefore now return to relate some of the principal matters that passed in parliament during this session.

Upon the 18th of January, the House of Lords sent down a bill to the Commons, for fixing the precedence of the Hanover family, which probably had been forgot in the acts for settling the succession of the crown. That of Henry VIII., which gives the rank to princes of the blood, carries it no farther than to nephews, nieces, and grandchildren of the crown; by virtue of which, the Princess Sophia is a princess of the blood, as niece to King Charles I. of England, and precedes accordingly; but the privilege does not descend to her son the elector, or the electoral prince. To supply which defect, and pay a compliment to the presumptive heirs of the crown, this bill, as appears by the preamble, was recommended by her majesty to the House of Lords, which the Commons, to show their zeal for everything that might be thought to concern the interest or honour of that illustrious family, ordered to be read thrice, passed *nem. con.* and returned to the Lords, without any amendment, on the very day it was sent down.

But the House seemed to have nothing more at heart, than a strict inquiry into the state of the

nation, with respect to foreign alliances. Some discourses had been published in print, about the beginning of the session, boldly complaining of certain articles in the barrier treaty, concluded about three years since by the Lord Viscount Townshend, between Great Britain and the States General; and showing, in many particulars, the unequal conduct of the powers in our alliance, in furnishing their quotas and supplies. It was asserted by the same writers, "That these hardships put upon England had been countenanced and encouraged by a party here at home, in order to preserve their power, which could be no otherwise maintained than by continuing the war; as well as by her majesty's general abroad, upon account of his own peculiar interest and grandeur." These loud accusations spreading themselves throughout the kingdom, delivered in facts directly charged, and thought, whether true or not, to be but weakly confuted, had sufficiently prepared the minds of the people; and by putting arguments into everybody's mouth, had filled the town and country with controversies, both in writing and discourse. The point appeared to be of great consequence, whether the war continued or not; for, in the former case, it was necessary that the allies should be brought to a more equal regulation; and that the States in particular, for whom her majesty had done such great things, should explain and correct those articles in the barrier treaty, which were prejudicial to Britain; and in either case, it was fit the people should have at least the satisfaction of knowing by whose counsels, and for what designs, they had been so hardly treated.

In order to this great inquiry, the barrier treaty, with all other treaties and agreements entered into between her majesty and her allies, during the

present war, for raising and augmenting the proportions for the service thereof, were, by the queen's directions, laid before the House.

Several resolutions were drawn up, and reported at different times, upon the deficiencies of the allies in furnishing their quotas, upon certain articles in the barrier treaty, and upon the state of the war; by all which it appeared, "That whatever had been charged, by public discourses in print, against the late ministry, and the conduct of the allies, was much less than the truth." Upon these resolutions, (by one of which the Lord Viscount Townshend, who negotiated and signed the barrier treaty, was declared an enemy to the queen and kingdom,) and upon some farther directions to the committee, a representation was formed; and soon after the Commons, in a body, presented it to the queen, the endeavours of the adverse party not prevailing to have it re-committed.

This representation (supposed to be the work of Sir Thomas Hanmer's * pen) is written with much energy and spirit, and will be a very useful authentic record, for the assistance of those who at any time shall undertake to write the history of the present times.

I did intend, for brevity sake, to have given the reader only an abstract of it; but, upon trial, found myself unequal to such a task, without injuring so excellent a piece. And although I think historical relations are but ill patched up with long transcripts already printed, which, upon that account, I have hitherto avoided; yet, this being the sum of all debates and resolutions of the House of Commons in that great affair of the war, I conceived it could not well be omitted:

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* But to which the Dean himself contributed a large share.

"MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

"We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, having nothing so much at heart, as to enable your majesty to bring this long and expensive war to an honourable and happy conclusion, have taken it into our most serious consideration, how the necessary supplies to be provided by us may be best applied, and how the common cause may in the most effectual manner be carried on, by the united force of the whole confederacy: We have thought ourselves obliged, in duty to your majesty, and in discharge of the trust reposed in us, to inquire into the true state of the war in all its parts: We have examined what stipulations have been entered into between your majesty and your allies; and how far such engagements have, on each side, been made good: We have considered the different interests which the confederates have in the success of this war; and the different shares they have contributed to its support: We have, with our utmost care and diligence, endeavoured to discover the nature, extent, and charge of it; to the end that by comparing the weight thereof with our own strength, we might adapt the one to the other, in such measure, as neither to continue your majesty's subjects under a heavier burden than in reason and justice they ought to bear, nor deceive your majesty, your allies, and ourselves, by undertaking more than the nation in its present circumstances is able to perform.

"Your majesty has been graciously pleased, upon our humble applications, to order such materials to be laid before us, as have furnished us with the necessary information, upon the particulars we have inquired into: and when we shall have laid before your majesty our observations, and humble advice

upon this subject, we promise to ourselves this happy fruit from it, that if your majesty's generous and good purposes for the procuring of a safe and lasting peace should, through the obstinacy of the enemy, or by any other means, be unhappily defeated, a true knowledge and understanding of the past conduct of the war will be the best foundation for a more frugal and equal management of it for the time to come.

"In order to take the more perfect view of what we proposed, and that we might be able to set the whole before your majesty in a true light, we have thought it necessary to go back to the beginning of the war; and beg leave to observe the motive and reasons upon which his late majesty King William engaged first in it. The treaty of the grand alliance explains those reasons to be, for the supporting of the pretensions of his imperial majesty, then actually engaged in a war with the French king, who had usurped the entire Spanish monarchy, for his grandson the Duke of Anjou; and for the assisting of the States General, who, by the loss of their barrier against France, were then in the same, or a more dangerous condition, than if they were actually invaded. As these were just and necessary motives for undertaking this war, so the ends proposed to be obtained by it were equally wise and honourable; for, as they are set forth in the eighth article of the same treaty, they appear to have been, *the procuring of an equitable and reasonable satisfaction to his imperial majesty; and sufficient securities for the dominions, provinces, navigation, and commerce of the King of Great Britain and the States General; and making effectual provision, that the two kingdoms of France and Spain should never be united under the same government;* and particularly, that the French should never get

into the possession of the Spanish West Indies, or be permitted to sail thither, upon the account of traffic, or under any pretence whatsoever; and lastly, the securing to the subjects of the King of Great Britain, and the States General, all the same privileges and rights of commerce, throughout the whole dominions of Spain, as they enjoyed before the death of Charles the Second, King of Spain, by virtue of any treaty, agreement, or custom, or any other way whatsoever. For the obtaining of these ends, the three confederated powers engaged to assist one another with their whole force, according to such proportions as should be specified in a particular convention afterwards to be made for that purpose. We do not find that any such convention was ever ratified: but it appears, that there was an agreement concluded, which, by common consent, was understood to be binding upon each party respectively, and according to which the proportions of Great Britain were, from the beginning, regulated and founded. The terms of that agreement were, That for the service at land, his imperial majesty should furnish ninety thousand men, the King of Great Britain forty thousand, and the States General one hundred and two thousand: of which there were forty-two thousand intended to supply their garrisons, and sixty thousand to act against the common enemy in the field; and with regard to the operations of the war at sea, they were agreed to be performed jointly by Great Britain and the States General, the quota of ships to be furnished for that service being five-eighths on the part of Great Britain, and three-eighths on the part of the States General.

"Upon this foot, the war began in the year 1702; at which time, the whole yearly expence of it to England amounted to three millions seven hundred

and six thousand four hundred ninety-four pounds; a very great charge, as it was then thought by her majesty's subjects, after the short interval of ease they had enjoyed from the burden of the former war; but yet a very moderate proportion, in comparison with the load which has since been laid upon them: for it appears, by estimates given in to your Commons, that the sums necessary to carry on the service for this present year, in the same manner as it was performed the last year, amount to more than six millions nine hundred and sixty thousand pounds, beside interest for the public debts, and the deficiencies accruing the last year, which two articles require one million one hundred and forty-three thousand pounds more; so that the whole demands upon your Commons are arisen to more than eight millions for the present annual supply. We know your majesty's tender regard for the welfare of your people will make it uneasy to you to hear of so great a pressure as this upon them: and as we are assured it will fully convince your majesty of the necessity of our present inquiry; so we beg leave to represent to you from what causes, and by what steps, this immense charge appears to have grown upon us.

"The service at sea, as it has been very large and extensive in itself, so it has been carried on, through the whole course of the war, in a manner highly disadvantageous to your majesty and your kingdom: for the necessity of affairs requiring that great fleets should be fitted out every year, as well for maintaining a superiority in the Mediterranean, as for opposing any force which the enemy might prepare, either at Dunkirk, or in the ports of West France; your majesty's example and readiness, in fitting out your proportion of ships for all parts of that service, have been so far from prevailing with the States General to keep pace with you, that they

have been deficient every year to a great degree, in proportion to what your majesty has furnished; sometimes no less than two-thirds, and generally more than half of their quota: hence your majesty has been obliged, for the prevention of disappointments in the most pressing services, to supply those deficiencies by additional reinforcements of your own ships; nor has the single increase of such a charge been the only ill consequence that attended it; for by this means, the debt of the navy has been enhanced, so that the discounts arising upon the credit of it have affected all other parts of the service, from the same cause. Your majesty's ships of war have been forced in greater numbers to continue in remote seas, and at unseasonable times of the year, to the great damage and decay of the British navy. This also has been the occasion that your majesty has been straitened in your convoys for trade; your coasts have been exposed, for want of a sufficient number of cruisers to guard them; and you have been disabled from annoying the enemy in their most beneficial commerce with the West Indies, from whence they received those vast supplies of treasure, without which they could not have supported the expences of this war.

"That part of the war which has been carried on in Flanders was at first immediately necessary to the security of the States General, and has since brought them great acquisitions both of revenue and dominion: yet even there the original proportions have been departed from, and, during the course of the war, have been sinking by degrees on the part of Holland: so that, in this last year, we find the number in which they fell short of their three-fifths, to your majesty's two-fifths, have been twenty thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven men. We are not unmindful that, in the year 1703, a treaty was

made between the two nations, for a joint augmentation of twenty thousand men, wherein the proportions were varied, and England consented to take half upon itself. But it having been annexed as an express condition to the grant of the said augmentation in parliament, that the States General should prohibit all trade and commerce with France; and that condition having not been performed by them; the Commons think it reasonable, that the first rule of three to two ought to have taken place again, as well in that as in other subsequent augmentations; more especially when they consider, that the revenues of those rich provinces which have been conquered, would, if they were duly applied, maintain a great number of new additional forces against the common enemy: notwithstanding which, the States General have raised none upon that account, but make use of those fresh supplies of money, only to ease themselves in the charges of their first established quota.

"As, in the progress of the war in Flanders, a disproportion was soon created to the prejudice of England; so the very beginning of the war in Portugal brought an unequal share of burden upon us: for although the emperor and the States General were equally parties with your majesty, in the treaty with the King of Portugal; yet, the emperor neither furnishing his third part of the troops and subsidies stipulated for, nor the Dutch consenting to take an equal share of his imperial majesty's defect upon themselves, your majesty has been obliged to furnish two-thirds of the entire expence created by that service. Nor has the inequality stopped there; for ever since the year 1706, when the English and Dutch forces marched out of Portugal into Castile, the States General have entirely abandoned the war in Portugal, and left

your majesty to prosecute it singly at your own charge; which you have accordingly done, by replacing a greater number of troops there, than even at first you took upon you to provide. At the same time, your majesty's generous endeavours for the support and defence of the King of Portugal have been but ill seconded by that prince himself; for, notwithstanding that by his treaty he had obliged himself to furnish twelve thousand foot and three thousand horse, upon his own account, besides eleven thousand foot and two thousand horse more, in consideration of a subsidy paid him; yet, according to the best information your Commons can procure, it appears that he has scarce at any time furnished thirteen thousand men in the whole.

"In Spain the war has been yet more unequal and burdensome to your majesty than in any other branch of it; for, being commenced without any treaty whatsoever, the allies have almost wholly declined taking any part of it upon themselves. A small body of English and Dutch troops were sent thither in the year 1705; not as being thought sufficient to support a regular war, or to make the conquest of so large a country; but with a view only of assisting the Spaniards to set King Charles upon the throne; occasioned by the great assurances which were given of their inclinations to the House of Austria; but, this expectation failing, England was insensibly drawn into an established war, under all the disadvantages of the distance of the place, and the feeble efforts of the other allies. The account we have to lay before your majesty upon this head is, that, although this undertaking was entered upon at the particular and earnest request of the imperial court, and for a cause of no less importance and concern to them than the reducing of the Spanish monarchy to the House

of Austria; yet, neither the late emperors nor his present imperial majesty have ever had any forces there on their own account, till the last year; and then only one regiment of foot, consisting of two thousand men. Though the States General have contributed something more to this service, yet their share has been inconsiderable; for, in the space of four years, from 1705 to 1708, both inclusive, all the forces they have sent into that country have not exceeded twelve thousand two hundred men; and from the year 1708 to this time, they have not sent any forces or recruits whatsoever. To your majesty's care and charge the recovery of that kingdom has been in a manner wholly left, as if none else were interested or concerned in it. And the forces which your majesty has sent into Spain, in the space of seven years, from 1705 to 1711, both inclusive, have amounted to no less than fifty-seven thousand nine hundred seventy-three men; beside thirteen battalions, and eighteen squadrons, for which your majesty has paid a subsidy to the emperor.

"How great the established expence of such a number of men has been, your majesty very well knows, and your Commons very sensibly feel: but the weight will be found much greater, when it is considered how many heavy articles of unusual and extraordinary charge have attended this remote and difficult service; all which have been entirely defrayed by your majesty, except that one of transporting the few forces which were sent by the States General, and the victualling of them during their transportation only. The accounts delivered to your Commons show, that the charge of your majesty's ships and vessels, employed in the service of the war in Spain and Portugal, reckoned after the rate of four pounds a man *per* month, from the

time they sailed from hence till they returned, were lost, or put upon other services, has amounted to six millions five hundred forty thousand nine hundred and sixty-six pounds, fourteen shillings; the charge of transports on the part of Great Britain, for carrying on the war in Spain and Portugal, from the beginning of it till this time, has amounted to one million three hundred thirty-six thousand seven hundred and nineteen pounds, nineteen shillings, and elevenpence: that of victualling land forces for the same service, to five hundred eighty-three thousand seven hundred and seventy pounds, eight shillings, and sixpence; and that of contingencies, and other extraordinaries for the same service, to one million eight hundred forty thousand three hundred and fifty-three pounds.

"We should take notice to your majesty of several sums paid upon account of contingencies and extraordinaries in Flanders, making together the sum of one million one hundred seven thousand ninety-six pounds; but we are not able to make any comparison of them, with what the States General have expended upon the same head, having no such state of their extraordinary charge before us. There remains, therefore, but one particular more for your majesty's observation, which arises from the subsidies paid to foreign princes. These, at the beginning of the war, were borne in equal proportion by your majesty and the States General; but in this instance also the balance has been cast in prejudice of your majesty: for it appears that your majesty has since advanced, more than your equal proportion, three millions one hundred and fifty-five thousand crowns, beside extraordinaries paid in Italy, and not included in any of the foregoing articles, which arise to five hundred thirty-nine thousand five hundred and fifty-three pounds.

"We have laid these several particulars before your majesty in the shortest manner we have been able; and by an estimate grounded on the preceding facts, it does appear, that over and above the quotas on the part of Great Britain, answering to those contributed by your allies, more than nineteen millions have been expended by your majesty, during the course of this war, by way of surplusage, or exceeding in balance; of which none of the confederates have furnished anything whatsoever.

"It is with very great concern that we find so much occasion given us, to represent how ill a use hath been made of your majesty's and your subjects' zeal for the common cause: that the interest of that cause has not been proportionably promoted by it, but others only have been eased at your majesty's and your subjects' costs, and have been connived at in laying their part of the burden upon this kingdom, although they have, upon all accounts, been equally, and in most respects, much more nearly concerned than Britain in the issue of the war. We are persuaded, your majesty will think it pardonable in us, with some resentment, to complain of the little regard, which some of those, whom your majesty of late years intrusted, have shown to the interest of their country, in giving way at least to such unreasonable impositions upon it, if not in some measure contriving them: the course of which impositions has been so singular and extraordinary, that the more the wealth of this nation has been exhausted, and the more your majesty's arms have been attended with success, the heavier has been the burden laid upon us; while, on the other hand, the more vigorous your majesty's efforts have been, and the greater the advantages which have redounded thence to your

allies, the more those allies have abated in the share of their expence.

"At the first entrance into this war, the Commons were induced to exert themselves in the extraordinary manner they did, and to grant such large supplies as had been unknown to former ages, in hopes thereby to prevent the mischiefs of a lingering war, and to bring that, in which they were necessarily engaged, to a speedy conclusion: but they have been very unhappy in the event, while they have so much reason to suspect, that what was intended to shorten the war has proved the very cause of its long continuance; for those to whom the profits of it have accrued have been disposed not easily to forego them. And your majesty will thence discern *the true reason why so many have delighted in a war, which brought in so rich a harvest yearly from Great Britain.*

"We are as far from desiring, as we know your majesty will be from concluding, any peace, but upon safe and honourable terms: and we are far from intending to excuse ourselves from raising all necessary and possible supplies for an effectual prosecution of the war, till such a peace can be obtained. All that your faithful Commons aim at, all that they wish, is an equal concurrence from the other powers engaged in alliance with your majesty; and a just application of what has been already gained from the enemy toward promoting the common cause. Several large countries and territories have been restored to the house of Austria; such as the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and other places in Italy. Others have been conquered, and added to their dominions; as the two electorates of Bavaria and Cologn, the duchy of Mantua, and the bishopric of Liege. These, having been reduced, in a great measure, by

our blood and treasure, may, we humbly conceive, with great reason, be claimed to come in aid toward carrying on the war in Spain. And therefore we make it our earnest request to your majesty, that you will give instructions to your ministers, to insist with the emperor, that the revenues of those several places, excepting only such a portion thereof as is necessary for their defence, be actually so applied. And as to the other parts of the war, to which your majesty has obliged yourself by particular treaties to contribute, we humbly beseech your majesty, that you will be pleased to take effectual care, that your allies do perform their parts stipulated by those treaties; and that your majesty will, for the future, no otherwise furnish troops, or pay subsidies, than in proportion to what your allies shall actually furnish and pay. When this justice is done to your majesty and to your people, there is nothing which your Commons will not cheerfully grant, toward supporting your majesty in the cause in which you are engaged. And whatever farther shall appear to be necessary for carrying on the war, either at sea or land, we will effectually enable your majesty to bear your reasonable share of any such expence; and will spare no supplies which your subjects are able, with their utmost efforts, to afford.

"After having inquired into, and considered the state of the war, in which the part your majesty has borne appears to have been not only superior to that of any one ally, but even equal to that of the whole confederacy; your Commons naturally inclined to hope, that they should find care had been taken of securing some particular advantages to Britain, in the terms of a future peace; such as might afford a prospect of making the nation amends, in time, for that immense treasure which has been expended, and those heavy debts which have been contracted in the course

of so long and burdensome a war. This reasonable expectation could no way have been better answered than by some provision made for the farther security, and the greater improvement of the commerce of Great Britain. But we find ourselves so very far disappointed in these hopes, that, in a treaty not long since concluded between your majesty and the States General, under colour of a mutual guarantee given for two points of the greatest importance to both nations, the Succession and the Barrier; it appears, the interest of Great Britain has been not only neglected, but sacrificed; and that several articles in the said treaty are destructive to the trade and welfare of this kingdom, and therefore highly dishonourable to your majesty.

"Your Commons observe, in the first place, that several towns and places are, by virtue of this treaty, to be put into the hands of the States General; particularly Newport, Dendermond, and the castle of Ghent, which can in no sense be looked upon as part of a barrier against France; but, being the keys of the Netherlands toward Britain, must make the trade of your majesty's subjects in those parts precarious, and whenever the States think fit, totally exclude them from it. The pretended necessity of putting these places into the hands of the States General; in order to secure to them a communication with their barrier, must appear vain and groundless; for the sovereignty of the Low Countries being not to remain to an enemy, but to a friend and an ally, that communication must be always secure and uninterrupted; beside that, in case of a rupture or an attack, the States have full liberty allowed them to take possession of all the Spanish Netherlands, and therefore needed no particular stipulation for the towns above mentioned.

"Having taken notice of this concession made to the States General, for seizing upon the whole ten provinces; we cannot but observe to your majesty, that, in the manner this article is framed, it is another dangerous circumstance which attends this treaty; for, had such a provision been confined to the case of an apparent attack from France only, the avowed design of this treaty had been fulfilled and your majesty's instructions to your ambassador had been pursued: but this necessary restriction has been omitted; and the same liberty is granted to the States, to take possession of all the Netherlands, whenever they shall think themselves attacked by any other neighbouring nation, as when they shall be in danger from France; so that, if it should at any time happen (which your Commons are very unwilling to suppose) that they should quarrel even with your majesty, the riches, strength, and advantageous situation of these countries may be made use of against yourself, without whose generous and powerful assistance they had never been conquered.

"To return to those ill consequences which relate to the trade of your kingdoms. We beg leave to observe to your majesty, that, though this treaty revives and renders your majesty a party to the fourteenth and fifteenth articles of the treaty of Munster, by virtue of which the impositions upon all goods and merchandises brought into the Spanish Low Countries by the sea, are to equal those laid on goods and merchandises imported by the Scheld, and the canals of Sass and Swyn, and other mouths of the sea adjoining; yet no care is taken to preserve that equality, upon the exportation of those goods out of the Spanish provinces, into those countries and places which, by virtue of this treaty, are to be in possession of the States;

the consequence of which must in time be, and your Commons are informed that in some instances it has already proved to be the case, that impositions upon goods carried into those countries and places by the subjects of the States General will be taken off, while those upon the goods imported by your majesty's subjects remain; by which means Great Britain will entirely lose this most beneficial branch of trade, which it has in all ages been possessed of, even from the time when those countries were governed by the house of Burgundy, one of the most ancient, as well as the most useful allies to the crown of England.

"With regard to the other dominions and territories of Spain, your majesty's subjects have always been distinguished in their commerce with them; and, both by ancient treaties and an uninterrupted custom, have enjoyed greater privileges and immunities of trade than either the Hollanders or any other nation whatsoever. And that wise and excellent treaty of the Grand Alliance provides effectually for the security and continuance of these valuable privileges to Britain, in such a manner, as that each nation might be left, at the end of war, upon the same foot as it stood at the commencement of it. But this treaty we now complain of, instead of confirming your subjects' rights, surrenders and destroys them, for, although, by the sixteenth and seventeenth articles of the treaty of Munster, made between his Catholic majesty and the States General, all advantages of trade are stipulated for and granted to the Hollanders, equal to what the English enjoyed; yet, the crown of England not being a party to that treaty, the subjects of England have never submitted to those articles of it, nor even the Spaniards themselves ever observed them. But this treaty revives those articles in prejudice of

Great Britain; and makes your majesty a party of them, and even a guarantee to the States General, for privileges against your own people.

"In how deliberate and extraordinary a manner your majesty's ambassador consented to deprive your subjects of their ancient rights, and your majesty of the power of procuring to them any new advantage, most evidently appears from his own letters, which, by your majesty's directions, have been laid before your Commons: for, when matters of advantage to your majesty, and to your kingdom, had been offered, as proper to be made parts of this treaty, they were refused to be admitted by the States General, upon this reason and principle: That nothing foreign to the guarantees of the succession and of the barrier should be mingled with them. Notwithstanding which, the States General had no sooner received notice of a treaty of commerce concluded between your majesty and the present emperor, but they departed from the rule proposed before, and insisted upon the article of which your Commons now complain; which article your majesty's ambassador allowed of, although equally foreign to the succession or the barrier; and although he had, for that reason, departed from other articles, which would have been for the service of his own country.

"We have forborn to trouble your majesty with general observations upon this treaty, as it relates to and affects the empire, and other parts of Europe. The mischiefs which arise from it to Great Britain are what only we have presumed humbly to represent to you, as they are very evident and very great. And as it appears that the Lord Viscount Townshend had not any orders or authority for concluding several of those articles, which are most prejudicial to your majesty's subjects; we have thought we

could do no less than declare your said ambassador who negotiated and signed, and all others who advised the ratifying of this treaty, enemies to your majesty and your kingdom.

"Upon these faithful informations and advices from your Commons, we assure ourselves, your majesty, in your great goodness to your people, will rescue them from those evils, which the private counsels of ill-designing men have exposed them to; and that, in your great wisdom, you will find some means for explaining and amending the several articles of this treaty, so as that they may consist with the interest of Great Britain, and with real and lasting friendship between your majesty and the States General."

Between the representation, and the first debates upon the subject of it, several weeks had passed; during which time the parliament had other matters likewise before them, that deserve to be mentioned. For, on the 9th of February was repealed the act for naturalizing foreign Protestants, which had been passed under the last ministry, and, as many people thought, to very ill purposes. By this act, any foreigner, who would take the oaths to the government, and profess himself a Protestant, of whatever denomination, was immediately naturalized, and had all the privileges of an English born subject, at the expence of a shilling. Most Protestants abroad differ from us in the points of church government; so that all the acquisitions by this act would increase the number of dissenters; and, therefore, the proposal that such foreigners should be obliged to conform to the established worship was rejected. But, because several persons were fond of this project, as a thing that would be of mighty advantage to the kingdom, I shall say a few words upon it.

The maxim, "That people are the riches of a

nation," has been crudely understood by many writers and reasoners upon that subject. There are several ways by which people are brought into a country. Sometimes a nation is invaded and subdued; and the conquerors seize the lands, and make the natives their under tenants or servants. Colonies have been always planted where the natives were driven out or destroyed, or the land uncultivated and waste. In those countries, where the lord of the soil is master of the labour and liberty of his tenants, or of slaves bought by his money, men's riches are reckoned by the number of their vassals. And sometimes, in governments newly instituted, where there are not people to till the ground, many laws have been made to encourage and allure numbers from the neighbouring countries. And in all these cases, the new comers have either lands allotted them, or are slaves to the proprietors. But to invite helpless families, by thousands, into a kingdom inhabited like ours, without lands to give them, and where the laws will not allow that they should be part of the property as servants, is a wrong application of the maxim: and the same thing, in great, as infants dropped at the doors, which are only a burden and charge to the parish. The true way of multiplying mankind to public advantage, in such a country as England, is, to invite from abroad only able handicraftsmen and artificers, or such who bring over a sufficient share of property to secure them from want; to enact and enforce sumptuary laws against luxury, and all excesses in clothing, furniture, and the like; to encourage matrimony, and reward, as the Romans did, those who have a certain number of children. Whether bringing over the Palatines were a mere consequence of this law for a general naturalization; or whether, as many surmised, it had some other meaning; it appeared

manifestly, by the issue, that the public was a loser by every individual among them; and that a kingdom can no more be the richer by such an importation, than a man can be fatter by a wen, which is unsightly and troublesome at best, and intercepts that nourishment, which would otherwise diffuse itself through the whole body.

About a fortnight after, the Commons sent up a bill for securing the freedom of parliaments, by limiting the number of members in that House, who should be allowed to possess employments under the crown.* Bills to the same effect, promoted by both parties, had, after making the like progress, been rejected in former parliaments; the court and ministry, who will ever be against such a law, having usually a greater influence in the House of Lords; and so it happened now. Although that influence were less, I am apt to think that such a law would be too thorough a reformation in one point, while we have so many corruptions in the rest; and perhaps the regulations already made on that article are sufficient, by which several employments incapacitate a man from being chosen a member, and all of them bring it to a new election.

For my own part, when I consider the temper of particular persons, and by what maxims they have acted (almost without exception) in their private capacities, I cannot conceive how such a bill should obtain a majority, unless every man expected to be

* This self-denying ordinance easily passed through the House of Commons, where probably men were ashamed of opposing it; and in such a temper were the Peers, in whose House ministry proposed to make the stand, that it was very likely to have passed there also. But an amendment was ingeniously thrown in, to suspend the operation of the proposed act until after the queen's death; so that it was evaded for the present, and never again revived.

one of the fifty, which, I think, was the limitation intended.

About the same time, likewise, the House of Commons advanced one considerable step toward securing us against farther impositions from our allies; resolving that the additional forces should be continued; but with a condition, that the Dutch should make good their propositions of three-fifths to two-fifths, which those confederates had so long, and in so great degree, neglected The Duke of Marlborough's deduction of two and a half *per cent.* from the pay of the foreign troops was also applied for carrying on the war.

Lastly, Within this period is to be included the act passed to prevent the disturbing those of the episcopal communion in Scotland in the exercise of their religious worship, and in the use of the liturgy of the church of England. It is known enough, that the most considerable of the nobility and gentry there, as well as great numbers of the people, dread the tyrannical discipline of those synods and presbyteries; and, at the same time, have the utmost contempt for the abilities and tenets of their teachers. It was besides thought an inequality, beyond all appearance of reason or justice, that dissenters of every denomination here, who are the meanest and most illiterate part among us, should possess a toleration by law, under colour of which they might, upon occasion, be bold enough to insult the religion established; while those of the episcopal church in Scotland groaned under a real persecution. The only specious objection against this bill was, that it set the religion by law in both parts of the island upon a different foot, directly contrary to the Union; because, by an act passed this very session against occasional conformity, our dissenters were shut out from all employments. A

petition from Carstairs, and other Scotch professors, against this bill, was offered to the House, but not accepted; and a motion made by the other party, to receive a clause, that should restrain all persons who have any office in Scotland from going to episcopal meetings, passed in the negative. It is manifest, that the promoters of this clause were not moved by any regard for Scotland, which is by no means their favourite at present; only they hoped, that if it were made part of a law, it might occasion such a choice of representatives in both Houses, from Scotland, as would be a considerable strength to their faction here. But the proposition was in itself extremely absurd, that so many lords and other persons of distinction, who have great employments, pensions, posts in the army, and other places of profit, many of whom are in frequent or constant attendance at the court, and utterly dislike their national way of worship, should be deprived of their liberty of conscience at home; not to mention those who are sent thither from hence, to take care of the revenue and other affairs, who would ill digest the changing of their religion for that of Scotland.

With a farther view of favour toward the episcopal clergy of Scotland, three members of that country were directed to bring in a bill, for restoring the patrons to their ancients rights of presenting ministers to the vacant churches there; which the kirk, during the height of their power, had obtained for themselves.* And, to conclude this subject at once,

* The Church of Scotland viewed the bills for restoring to the gentry the right of patronage, and for tolerating the exercise of the Episcopal persuasion, with great jealousy. The Reverend Mr. William Carstares, who had been secretary to King William, and was Principal of the College of Edinburgh, was deputed to go to London at the head of a commission of the church, to oppose the bills while in dependence. But he soon observed,

the queen, at the close of the session, commanded Mr. Secretary St. John to acquaint the House, "That, pursuant to their address, the profits arising from the bishops' estates in Scotland, which remained in the crown, should be applied to the support of such of the episcopal clergy there as would take the oaths to her majesty."

Nothing could more amply justify the proceedings of the queen and her ministers, for two years past, than that famous representation above at large recited: the unbiassed wisdom of the nation, after the strictest inquiry, confirming those facts upon which her majesty's counsels were grounded: and many persons, who were before inclined to believe that the allies and the late ministry had been too

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that the tendency of the measures of government was likely to affect the church in a more vital manner. It had been proposed to discontinue her general assemblies, or to prorogue them as soon as constituted, and in other respects materially to infringe upon her constitution. He therefore prudently compounded with administration, and undertook to allay the ferment occasioned by the acts concerning patronage and toleration, on receiving an assurance that no further innovations should be made on the discipline of the Church of Scotland. His biographer has justly remarked, that these enactments, considered at the time as fatal to the interests of Presbytery in Scotland, have, upon experience, proved her best security.

"Upon the one hand, the act of toleration, by taking the weapon of offence out of the hands of the Presbyterians, removed the chief grounds of those resentments which the friends of prelacy entertained against them, and in a few years almost annihilated Episcopacy in Scotland. Upon the other hand, the act restoring patronages, by restoring the nobility and gentlemen of property to their wonted influence in the settlement of the clergy, reconciled numbers of them to the established church, who had conceived the most violent prejudices to that mode of election, and against the Presbyterian clergy, who were settled upon it. It is an incontestable fact, that, from the date of these two acts, the Church of Scotland has enjoyed a tranquillity to which she was an utter stranger before."—Life of Carstares, prefixed to CARSTARES'S *State Papers*, p. 85.

much loaded by the malice, misrepresentations, or ignorance of writers, who were now fully convinced of their mistake by so great an authority. Upon this occasion I cannot forbear doing justice to Mr. St. John, who had been secretary at war for several years, under the former administration, where he had the advantage of observing how affairs were managed both at home and abroad. He was one of those who shared in the present treasurer's fortune, resigning up his employment at the same time; and upon that minister's being again taken into favour, this gentleman was some time after made secretary of state. There he began afresh, by the opportunities of his station, to look into past miscarriages; and by the force of an extraordinary genius, and application to public affairs, joined with an invincible eloquence, laid open the scene of miscarriages and corruptions, through the whole course of the war, in so evident a manner, that the House of Commons seemed principally directed in their resolutions, upon this inquiry, by his information and advice. In a short time after the representation was published, there appeared a memorial in the Dutch gazette, as by order of the States, reflecting very much upon the said representation, as well as the resolutions on which it was founded, pretending to deny some of the facts, and to extenuate others. This memorial, translated into English, a common writer of news had the boldness to insert in one of his papers. A complaint being made thereof to the House of Commons, they voted the pretended memorial to be a false, scandalous, malicious libel, and ordered the printer to be taken into custody.*

* The paper appeared in the Daily Courant of 7th April, for which Samuel Buckley, the writer and printer, was ordered by the House of Commons to be taken into custody.

It was the misfortune of the ministers, that while they were baited by their professed adversaries of the discontented faction, acting in confederacy with emissaries of foreign powers, to break the measures her majesty had taken toward a peace, they met, at the same time, with frequent difficulties from those who agreed and engaged with them to pursue the same general end, but sometimes disapproved the methods as too slack and remiss, or in appearance now and then, perhaps, a little dubious. In the first session of this parliament, a considerable number of gentlemen, all members of the House of Commons, began to meet by themselves, and consult what course they ought to steer in this new world. They intended to revive a new country party in parliament, which might, as in former times, oppose the court in any proceedings they disliked. The whole body was of such who profess what is commonly called high-church principles; upon which account they were irreconcilable enemies to the late ministry, and all its adherents. On the other side, considering the temper of the new men in power, that they were persons who had formerly moved between the two extremes, those gentlemen, who were impatient for an entire change, and to see all their adversaries laid at once as low as the dust, began to be apprehensive that the work would be done by halves. But the juncture of affairs at that time, both at home and abroad, would by no means admit of the least precipitation, although the queen and her first minister had been disposed to it; which certainly they were not. Neither did the court seem at all uneasy at this league, formed in appearance against it, but composed of honest gentlemen, who wished well to their country, in which both were entirely agreed, although they might differ about the means; or, if

such a society should begin to grow resty, nothing was easier than to divide them, and render all their endeavours ineffectual.*

But in the course of that first session, many of this society became gradually reconciled to the new ministry, whom they found to be greater objects of the common enemy's hatred than themselves; and the attempt of Guiscard, as it gained farther time for deferring the disposal of employments, so it much endeared that person to the kingdom, who was so near falling a sacrifice to the safety of his country. Upon the last session, of which I am now writing, this October Club (as it was called) renewed their usual meetings; but were now very much altered from their original institution, and seemed to have wholly dropped the design, as of no farther use. They saw a point carried in the House of Lords against the court, that would end in the ruin of the kingdom; and they observed the enemy's whole artillery directly levelled at the treasurer's head. In short, the majority of the club had so good an understanding with the great men at court, that two of the latter,† to show to the world how fair a correspondence there was between the court and country party, consented to be at one of their dinners; but this intercourse had an event very different from what was expected: for immediately the more zealous members of that society broke off from the rest, and composed a new one, made up of gentlemen, who seemed to expect little of the court; and perhaps with a mixture of others, who thought themselves disappointed, or too long delayed.‡ Many of these were observed to retain

* See Letter to the October Club, Vol. IV.

† Mr. St. John and Mr. Bromley.

‡ This was called the March Club, but did not long subsist.

an incurable jealousy of the treasurer; and to interpret all delays, which they could not comprehend, as a reserve of favour in this minister, to the persons and principles of the abandoned party.

Upon an occasion offered about this time, some persons, out of distrust to the treasurer, endeavoured to obtain a point which could not have been carried without putting all into confusion. A bill was brought into the House of Commons, appointing commissioners to examine into the value of all lands, and other interests granted by the crown, since the 13th day of February 1688, and upon what considerations such grants had been made. The united country interest in the House was extremely set upon passing the bill. They had conceived an opinion, from former precedents, that the court would certainly oppose all steps toward a resumption of grants; and those who were apprehensive that the treasurer inclined the same way, proposed the bill should be tacked to another, for raising a fund by duties upon soap and paper; which has been always imputed, whether justly or not, as a favourite expedient of those called the Tory party. At the same time it was very well known, that the House of Lords had made a fixed and unanimous resolution against giving their concurrence to the passing of such united bills: so that the consequences of this project must have been, to bring the ministry under difficulties, to stop the necessary supplies, and endanger the good correspondence between both houses: notwithstanding all which, the majority carried it for a tack; and the committee was instructed accordingly to make the two bills into one: whereby the worst that

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It seems probable that it included those *Tories* whose principles went the length of Jacobitism.

could happen would have followed, if the treasurer had not convinced the warm leaders in this affair, by undeniable reasons, that the means they were using would certainly disappoint the end; that neither himself, nor any other of the queen's servants, were at all against this inquiry; and he promised his utmost credit to help forward the bill in the House of Lords. He prevailed at last to have it sent up single; but their lordships gave it another kind of reception. Those who were of the side opposite to the court withstood it to a man, as in a party case; among the rest, some were personally concerned, and others by friends and relations, which they supposed a sufficient excuse to be absent, or dissent. Even those whose grants were antecedent to this intended inspection began to be alarmed, as men whose neighbours' houses are on fire. A show of zeal for the late king's honour occasioned many reflections upon the date of this inquiry, which was to commence with his reign: and the Earl of Nottingham, who had now flung away the mask which he had lately pulled off, like one who had no other view but that of vengeance against the queen and her friends, acted consistently enough with his design, by voting as a lord against the bill, after he had directed his son in the House of Commons to vote for the tack.

Thus miscarried this popular bill for appointing commissioners to examine into royal grants; but whether those chiefly concerned did rightly consult their own interest has been made a question, which perhaps time will resolve. It was agreed, that the queen, by her own authority, might have issued out a commission for such an inquiry; and everybody believed that the intention of the parliament was only to tax the grants with about three years' purchase, and at the same time establish the proprietors

in possession of the remainder for ever; so that, upon the whole, the grantees would have been great gainers by such an act, since the titles of those lands, as they stood then, were hardly of half value with others, either for sale or settlement. Besides, the example of the Irish forfeitures might have taught these precarious owners that, when the House of Commons has once engaged in a pursuit, which they think is right, although it be stopped or suspended for a while, they will be sure to renew it upon every opportunity that offers, and seldom fail of success: for instance, if the resumption should happen to be made part of a supply, which can be easily done without the objection of a tack, the grantees might possibly then have much harder conditions given them; and I do not see how they could prevent it. Whether the resuming of royal grants be consistent with good policy or justice, would be too long a disquisition; besides, the profusion of kings is not likely to be a grievance for the future, because there have been laws since made to provide against that evil, or indeed, rather because the crown has nothing left to give away. But the objection made against the date of the intended inquiry was invidious and trifling; for King James II. made very few grants: he was a better manager, and squandering was none of his faults; whereas the late king, who came over here a perfect stranger to our laws and to our people, regardless of posterity, wherein he was not likely to survive, thought he could no way better strengthen a new title, than by purchasing friends at the expence of everything which was in his power to part with.

The reasonableness of uniting to a money bill one of a different nature, which is usually called *tacking*, has been likewise much debated, and will

admit of argument enough. In ancient times, when a parliament was held, the Commons first proposed their grievances to be redressed, and then gave their aids; so that it was a perfect bargain between the king and the subject. This fully answered the ends of tacking. Aids were then demanded upon occasions which would hardly pass at present; such, for instance, as those for making the king's son a knight, marrying his eldest daughter, and some others of the like sort. Most of the money went into the king's coffers, for his private use; neither was he accountable for any part of it. Hence arose the form of the king's thanking his subjects for their benevolence, when any subsidies, tenths, or fifteenths, were given him. But the supplies now granted are of another nature, and cannot be properly called a particular benefit to the crown, because they are all appropriated to their several uses; so that, when the House of Commons tack to a money bill what is foreign and hard to be digested, if it be not passed, they put themselves and their country in as great difficulties as the prince.* On the other side, there have been several regulations made, through the course of time, in parliamentary proceedings; among which it is grown a rule, that a bill once rejected shall not be brought up again the same session; whereby the Commons seem to have lost the advantage of purchasing a redress of their grievances by granting supplies, which, upon some emergencies, has put them upon this expedient of tacking; so that there

* The power of the Commons to refuse supplies, or to clog them with conditions, is in theory one of the grand barriers of British freedom; but in practice, a check which must in its operation disjoint the whole system of executive government, is too violent a remedy to be used, and would only be the signal of a civil war.

is more to be said on each side of the case, than is convenient for me to trouble the reader or myself in deducing.

Among the matters of importance during this session, we may justly number the proceedings of the House of Commons with relation to the press; since her majesty's message to the House, of January the seventeenth, concludes with a paragraph, representing the great licences taken in publishing false and scandalous libels, such as are a reproach to any government; and recommending to them to find a remedy equal to the mischief. The meaning of these words in the message seems to be confined to those weekly and daily papers and pamphlets, reflecting upon the persons and the management of the ministry. But the House of Commons, in their address which answers this message, make an addition of the blasphemies against God and religion; and it is certain, that nothing would be more for the honour of the legislature, than some effectual law for putting a stop to this universal mischief; but as the person * who advised the queen in that part of her message, had only then in his thoughts the redressing of the political and factious libels, I think he ought to have taken care, by his great credit in the House, to have proposed some ways by which that evil might be removed; the law for taxing single papers having produced a quite contrary effect, as was then foreseen by many persons, and has since been found true by experience. For the adverse party, full of rage and leisure since their fall, and unanimous in defence of their cause, employ a set of writers by subscription, who are well versed in all the topics of defamation, and have a style and genius levelled

* Mr. Secretary St. John.

to the generality of readers; while those who would draw their pens on the side of their prince and country are discouraged by this tax, which exceeds the intrinsic value both of the materials and the work; a thing, if I be not mistaken, without example.*

It must be acknowledged, that the bad practices of printers have been such, as to deserve the severest animadversions of the public; and it is to be wished, the party quarrels of the pen were always managed with decency and truth: but, in the meantime, to open the mouths of our enemies, and shut our own, is a turn of politics that wants a little to be explained. Perhaps the ministry now in possession, because they are in possession, may despise such trifles as this; and it is not to be denied, that acting as they do upon a national interest, they may seem to stand in less need of such supports, or may safely fling them down as no longer necessary. But, if the leaders of the other party had proceeded by this maxim, their power would have been none at all, or of very short duration; and had not some active pens fallen in to improve the good dispositions of the people upon the late change, and continued since to overthrow the falsehood plentifully, and sometimes not unplausibly, scattered by the adversaries, I am very much in doubt whether those at the helm would now have reason to be pleased with their success. A particular person may with more safety despise the opinion of the vulgar, because it does a wise man no real harm or good, but the administration

* The Dean might have added, that, as opposition affords infinitely better openings for the exercise of personal satire, and introduction of secret history, the pieces which are highest seasoned with these popular ingredients will always be most acceptable to the public.

a great deal; and whatever side has the sole management of the pen, will soon find hands enough to write down their enemies as low as they please. If the people had no other idea of those whom her majesty trusts in her greatest affairs, than what is conveyed by the passions of such as would compass sea and land for their destruction; what could they expect, but to be torn in pieces by the rage of the multitude? How necessary therefore was it, that the world should, from time to time, be undeceived by true representations of persons and facts, which have kept the kingdom steady to its interests against all the attacks of a cunning and virulent faction! *

However, the mischiefs of the press were too exorbitant to be cured by such a remedy as a tax upon the smaller papers; and a bill for a much more effectual regulation of it was brought into the House of Commons, but so late in the session, that there was no time to pass it; for there has hitherto always appeared an unwillingness to cramp overmuch the liberty of the press, whether from the inconveniences apprehended from doing too much or too little; or whether the benefit proposed by each party to themselves, from the service of their writers toward the recovering or preserving of power, be thought to outweigh the disadvantages. However it came about, this affair was put off from one week to another, and the bill not brought into the House till the 8th of June. It was committed three days, and then heard of no more. In this bill there was a clause inserted, (whether industriously with design to overthrow it,) that the author's

* In this paragraph Swift may be properly said to plead his own cause, since his ready and animated publications were no small support to the Tory administration.

name and place of abode should be set to every printed book, pamphlet, or paper; to which I believe no man, who has the least regard to learning, would give his consent; for beside the objection to this clause from the practice of pious men, who, in publishing excellent writings for the service of religion, have chosen, out of an humble Christian spirit, to conceal their names; it is certain that all persons of true genius or knowledge have an invincible modesty and suspicion of themselves, upon their first sending their thoughts into the world; and that those who are dull or superficial, void of all taste and judgment, have dispositions directly contrary: so that, if this clause had been made part of a law, there would have been an end, in all likelihood, of any valuable production for the future, either in wit or learning: and that insufferable race of stupid people, who are now every day loading the press, would then reign alone, in time destroy our very first principles of reason, and introduce barbarity among us, which is already kept out with so much difficulty by so few hands.

Having given an account of the several steps made toward a peace, from the first overtures begun by France, to the commencement of the second session; I shall, in the Fourth Book, relate the particulars of this great negotiation, from the period last mentioned to the present time; and because there happened some passages in both Houses, occasioned by the treaty, I shall take notice of them under that head. There only remains to be mentioned one affair of another nature, which the lords and commons took into their cognizance, after a very different manner, wherewith I shall close this part of my subject.

The sect of Quakers among us, whose system of religion, first founded upon enthusiasm, has been

many years growing into a craft, held it an unlawful action to take an oath to a magistrate. This doctrine was taught them by the author of their sect, from a literal application of the text, "Swear not at all;" but, being a body of people wholly turned to trade and commerce of all kinds, they found themselves, on many occasions, deprived of the benefit of the law, as well as of voting at elections, by a foolish scruple, which their obstinacy would not suffer them to get over. To prevent this inconvenience, those people had credit enough in the late reign to have an act passed, that their solemn affirmation and declaration should be accepted, instead of an oath in the usual form. The great concern in those times was, to lay all religion upon a level; in order to which, this maxim was advanced, "That no man ought to be denied the liberty of serving his country, upon account of a different belief in speculative opinions;" under which term some people were apt to include every doctrine of Christianity. However, this act in favour of the Quakers was only temporary, in order to keep them in constant dependence; and expired of course after a certain term, if it were not continued. Those people had, therefore, very early in the session, offered a petition to the House of Commons, for a continuance of the act, which was not suffered to be brought up. Upon this they applied themselves to the Lords; who passed a bill accordingly, and sent it down to the Commons, where it was not so much as allowed a first reading.

And, indeed, it is not easy to conceive upon what motives the legislature of so great a kingdom could descend so low, as to be ministerial and subservient to the caprices of the most absurd heresy that ever appeared in the world; and this in a point, where those deluding or deluded people stand singular

from all the rest of mankind, who live under civil government: but the designs of an aspiring party, at that time, were not otherwise to be compassed, than by undertaking anything that would humble and mortify the church: and I am fully convinced, that if a set of sceptic philosophers (who profess to doubt of everything) had been then among us, and mingled their tenets with some corruptions of Christianity, they might have obtained the same privilege; and that a law would have been enacted, whereby the solemn doubt of the people called sceptics should have been accepted instead of an oath in the usual form: so absurd are all maxims formed upon the inconsistent principles of faction, when once they are brought to be examined by the standard of truth and reason.

THE

HISTORY

OF

THE FOUR LAST YEARS

OF THE

QUEEN.

BOOK IV.

WE left the plenipotentiaries of the allies, and those of the enemy, preparing to assemble at Utrecht on the first of January, N.S., in order to form a congress for negotiating a general peace; wherein, although the Dutch had made a mighty merit of their compliance with the queen, yet they set all their instruments at work, to inflame both Houses against her majesty's measures. M. Bothmar, the Hanover envoy, took care to print and disperse his memorial, of which I have formerly spoken: Hoffman, the emperor's resident, was soliciting for a yacht and convoys to bring over Prince Eugene at this juncture, fortified, as it was given out, with great proposals from the Imperial court:

the Earl of Nottingham became a convert, for reasons already mentioned; money was distributed where occasion required; and the Dukes of Somerset and Marlborough, together with the Earl of Godolphin, had put themselves at the head of their junto and their adherents in order to attack the court. Some days after the vote passed the House of Lords for admitting into the address the Earl of Nottingham's clause against any peace without Spain; M. Buys, the Dutch envoy, who had been deep in all the consultations with the discontented party for carrying that point, was desired to meet with the lord privy seal, the Earl of Dartmouth, and Mr. Secretary St. John, in order to sign a treaty between the queen and the States, to subsist after a peace. There the envoy took occasion to expostulate upon the advantages stipulated for Britain with France; said, "It was his opinion, that those ministers ought, in respect of the friendship between both nations, to acquaint him what these advantages were; and that he looked upon his country to be entitled by treaty to share them equally with us; that there was now another reason why we should be more disposed to comply with him upon this head; for, since the late resolution of the House of Lords, he took it for granted, it would be a dangerous step in us to give Spain to a prince of the house of Bourbon; and therefore that we should do well to induce the States, by such a concession, to help us out of this difficulty."

Mr. St. John made answer, "That there was not a man in the queen's council capable of so base a thought: That if Buys had anything to complain of, which was injurious to Holland, or justly tending to hurt the good correspondence between us and the States, he was confident her majesty would at all times be ready to give it up; but that the ministers

scorned to screen themselves at the expence of their country: That the resolution Buys mentioned was chiefly owing to foreign ministers intermeddling in our affairs, and would perhaps have an effect the projectors did not foresee: That if the peace became impracticable, the House of Commons would certainly put the war upon another foot; and reduce the public expence within such a compass, as our treaties required in the strictest sense, and as our present condition would admit, leaving the partizans for war to supply the rest."

Although the secretary believed this answer would put an end to such infamous proposals, it fell out otherwise; for, shortly after, M. Buys applied himself to the treasurer, promising to undertake, "That his masters should give up the article of Spain, provided they might share with us in the assiento for negroes." To which the treasurer's answer was short, "That he would rather lose his head than consent to such an offer."

It is manifest by this proceeding, that whatever schemes were forming here at home, in this juncture, by the enemies to the peace, the Dutch only designed to fall in with it, as far as it would answer their own account; and by a strain of the lower politics, wherein they must be allowed to excel every country in Christendom, lay upon the watch for a good bargain, by taking advantage of the distress they themselves had brought upon their nearest neighbour and ally.

But the queen highly resented this indignity from a republic, upon whom she had conferred so many obligations. She could not endure that the Dutch should employ their instruments to act in confederacy with a cabal of factious people, who were prepared to sacrifice the safety of their prince and country, to the recovery of that power they had so long pos-

sessed and abused. Her majesty knew very well, that, whatever were the mistaken or affected opinion of some people at home, upon the article of Spain, it was a point the States had long given up; who had very openly told our ministry, "That the war in that country was only our concern, and what their republic had nothing to do with." It is true, the party-leaders were equally convinced that the recovery of Spain was impracticable; but many things may be excused in a professed adversary fallen under a disgrace, which are highly criminal in an ally, upon whom we are that very instant conferring new favours. Her majesty therefore thought it high time to exert herself, and at length put a stop to foreign influence upon British counsels; so that, after the Earl of Nottingham's clause against any peace without Spain was carried in the House of Lords, directions were immediately sent to the Earl of Strafford at the Hague, to inform the Dutch, "That it was obtained by a trick, and would consequently turn to the disappointment and confusion of the contrivers and the actors." He was likewise instructed to be very dry and reserved to the pensionary and Dutch ministers; to let them know, "The queen thought herself ill treated; and that they would soon hear what effects those measures would have upon a mild and good temper, wrought up to resentment by repeated provocations: That the States might have the war continued, if they pleased; but that the queen would not be forced to carry it on after their manner; nor would suffer them to make her peace, or to settle the interests of her kingdoms."

To others in Holland, who appeared to be more moderate, the earl was directed to say, "That the States were upon a wrong scent: That their minister here mistook everything that we had promised:

That we would perform all they could reasonably ask from us, in relation to their barrier and their trade; and that Mons. Buys dealt very unfairly, if he had not told them as much; but that Britain, proceeding in some respects upon a new scheme of politics, would no longer struggle for impossibilities, nor be amused by words: That our people came more and more to their senses; and that the single dispute now was, whether the Dutch would join with a faction against the queen, or with the nation for her."

The court likewise resolved to discourage Prince Eugene from his journey to England, which he was about this time undertaking, and of which I have spoken before. He was told "That the queen wanted no exhortations to carry on the war; but the project of it should be agreed abroad, upon which her majesty's resolutions might soon be signified; and, until she saw what the emperor and allies were ready to do, she would neither promise nor engage for anything." At the same time, Mr. St. John told Hoffman, the emperor's resident here, "That, if the prince had a mind to divert himself in London, the ministers would do their part to entertain him, and be sure to trouble him with no manner of business."

This coldness retarded the prince's journey for some days; but did not prevent it, although he had a second message by the queen's order, with this farther addition, "That his name had lately been made use of, on many occasions, to create ferment and stir up sedition; and that her majesty judged it would be neither safe for him, nor convenient for her, that he should come over at this time." But all would not do; it was enough that the queen did not absolutely forbid him; and the party confederates, both foreign and domestic, thought his presence would be highly necessary for their service.

Toward the end of December, the lord privy seal set out for Holland. He was ordered to stop at the Hague, and, in conjunction with the Earl of Strafford, to declare to the States, in her majesty's name, "Her resolutions to conclude no peace, wherein the allies in general, and each confederate in particular, might not find their ample security, and their reasonable satisfaction: That she was ready to insist upon their barrier, and advantages in their trade, in the manner the States themselves should desire; and to concert with them such a plan of treaty, as both powers might be under mutual engagements never to recede from: That nothing could be of greater importance than for the ministers of Great Britain and Holland to enter the congress under the strictest ties of confidence, and entirely to concur throughout the course of these negotiations; to which purpose it was her majesty's pleasure, that their lordships should adjust with the Dutch ministers the best manner and method for opening and carrying on the conferences, and declare themselves instructed to communicate freely their thoughts and measures to the plenipotentiaries of the States, who, they hoped, had received the same instructions."

Lastly, The two lords were to signify to the pensionary and the other ministers, "That her majesty's preparations for the next campaign were carried on with all the dispatch and vigour the present circumstances would allow; and to insist, that the same might be done by the States; and that both powers should join in pressing the emperor, and other allies, to make greater efforts than they had hitherto done; without which the war must languish, and the terms of peace become every day more disadvantageous."

The two British plenipotentiaries went to Utrecht

with very large instructions; and, after the usual manner, were to make much higher demands from France (at least in behalf of the allies) than they could have any hope to obtain. The sum of what they had in charge, beside matter of form, was, to concert with the ministers of the several powers engaged against France, "That all differences arising among them should be accommodated between themselves, without suffering the French to interfere: That whatever were proposed to France by a minister of the alliance, should be backed by the whole confederacy: That a time might be fixed for the conclusion, as there had been for the commencement, of the treaty." Spain was to be demanded out of the hands of the Bourbon family, as the most effectual means for preventing the union of that kingdom with France; and whatever conditions the allies could agree upon, for hindering that union, their lordships were peremptorily to insist on.

As to the interests of each ally in particular, the plenipotentiaries of Britain were to demand "Strasburgh, the fort of Kehl with its dependencies, and the town of Brisac with its territory, for the emperor: That France should possess Alsatia, according to the treaty of Westphalia, with the right of the prefecture only over the ten imperial cities in that country: That the fortifications of the said ten cities be put into the condition they were in at the time of the said treaty, except Landau, which was to be demanded for the emperor and empire with liberty of demolishing the fortifications: That the French king should, at a certain time, and at his own expence, demolish the fortresses of Hunningen, New Brisac, and Fort Lewis, never to be rebuilt.

"That the town and fortress of Rhinfelt should be demanded for the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, until that matter be otherwise settled.

"That the clause relating to religion, in the fourth article of the treaty of Ryswick, and contrary to that of Westphalia, should be annulled; and the state of religion in Germany restored to the tenor of the treaty of Westphalia.

"That France should acknowledge the King of Prussia, and give him no disturbance in Neufchatel and Valengin.

"That the principality of Orange, and other estates belonging to the late King William, should be restored, as law should direct.

"That the Duke of Hanover should be acknowledged elector.

"That the King of Portugal should enjoy all the advantages stipulated between him and the allies.

"That the States should have for their barrier Furnes, Fort Knock, Menin, Ipres, Lisle, Tournay, Condé, Valenciennes, Maubeuge, Douay, Bethune, Avie, St. Venant, and Bouchain, with their cannon, &c.: That the French king should restore all the places belonging to Spain, now, or during this war, in his possession, in the Netherlands: That such part of them as should be thought fit might be allowed likewise for a barrier to the States: That France should grant the tariff of 1664 to the States; and exemption of fifty pence *per* tun upon Dutch goods trading to that kingdom: But that these articles in favour of the States should not be concluded, till the barrier treaty were explained to the queen's satisfaction.

"That the Duke of Savoy should be put in possession of all taken from him in this war, and enjoy the places yielded to him by the emperor and other allies: That France should likewise yield to him Exilles, Fenestrilles, Chaumont, the valley of Pregata, and the land lying between Piedmont and Mount Genu.

"That the article about the demolishing of Dunkirk should be explained."

As to Britain; the plenipotentiaries were to insert, "That Nieuport, Dendermond, Ghent, and all places which appear to be a barrier rather against England than France, should either not be given to the Dutch, or at least in such a manner as not to hinder the queen's subjects' free passage to and from the Low Countries.

"That the seventh article of the barrier treaty, which empowers the States, in case of an attack, to put troops at discretion in all the places of the Low Countries, should be so explained as to be understood only of an attack from France.

"That Britain should trade to the Low Countries with the same privileges as the States themselves.

"That the Most Christian King should acknowledge the succession of Hanover, and immediately oblige the Pretender to leave France; and that the said king should promise, for himself and his heirs, never to acknowledge any person for King or Queen of England, otherwise than according to the settlements now in force.

"That a treaty of commerce should be commenced, as soon as possible, between France and Britain; and, in the meantime, the necessary points relating to it be settled.

"That the Isle of St. Christopher's should be surrendered to the queen, Hudson's Bay restored, Placentia and the whole island of Newfoundland yielded to Britain by the Most Christian King: who was likewise to quit all claim to Nova Scotia and Annapolis Royal.

"That Gibraltar and Minorca should be annexed to the British crown.

"That the assiento should be granted to Britain for thirty years, with the same advantage as to

France; with an extent of ground on the river of Plata, for keeping and refreshing the negroes.

"That Spain should grant to the subjects of Britain as large privileges as to any other nation whatsoever; as likewise an exemption of duties, amounting to an advantage of at least fifteen *per cent.*

"That satisfaction should be demanded for what should appear to be justly due to her majesty, from the Emperor and the States.

"Lastly, That the plenipotentiaries should consult with those of the Protestant allies, the most effectual methods for restoring the Protestants of France to their religious and civil liberties, and for the immediate release of those who are now in the galleys."

What part of these demands were to be insisted on, and what were to be given up, will appear by the sequel of this negotiation. But there was no difficulty of moment enough to retard the peace, except a method for preventing the union of France and Spain under one prince, and the settling the barrier for Holland; which last, as claimed by the States, could, in prudence and safety, be no more allowed by us than by France.

The States General having appointed Mons. Buys to be one of their plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, that minister left England a few days after the lord privy seal. In his last conference with the lords of the council, he absolutely declared, "That his masters had done their utmost, both by sea and land: That it was unreasonable to expect more: That they had exceeded their proportion, even beyond Britain; and that, as to the emperor and other allies, he knew no expedient left for making them act with more vigour, than to pursue them with pathetical exhortations."

This minister was sent over hither, instructed and

empowered by halves. The ferment raised by the united endeavours of our party leaders, among whom he was a constant fellow labourer to the utmost of his skill, had wholly confounded him; and thinking to take the advantage of negotiating well for Holland, at the expence of Britain, he acted but ill for his own country, and worse for the common cause. However, the queen's ministers and he parted with the greatest civility; and her majesty's present was double the value of what is usual to the character he bore.

As the queen was determined to alter her measures in making war, so she thought nothing would so much convince the States of the necessity of a peace, as to have them frequently put in mind of this resolution; which her ambassador Strafford, then at the Hague, was accordingly directed to do: and if they should object, of what ill consequence it would be for the enemy to know her majesty designed to lessen her expences; he might answer, "That the ministers here were sorry for it; but the Dutch could only blame themselves, for forcing into such a necessity a princess, to whose friendship they owed the preservation and grandeur of their republic, and choosing to lean on a broken faction, rather than place their confidence in the queen."

It was her majesty's earnest desire, that there should be a perfect agreement at this treaty between the ministers of all the allies; than which nothing could be more effectual to make France comply with their just demands. Above all, she directed her plenipotentiaries to enter into the strictest confidence with those of Holland; and that, after the States had consented to explain the barrier treaty to her reasonable satisfaction, both powers should form between them a plan of general peace, from which they would not recede, and such as might

secure the quiet of Europe, as well as the particular interests of each confederate.

The Dutch were accordingly pressed, before the congress opened, to come to some temperament upon that famous treaty; because the ministers here expected it would be soon laid before the House of Commons, by which the resentment of the nation would probably appear against those who had been actors and advisers in it: but Mons. Buys, who usually spoke for his colleagues, was full of opposition, began to expostulate upon the advantages Britain had stipulated with France; and to insist, "That his masters ought to share equally in them all; but especially the assiento contract:" so that no progress was made in fixing a previous good correspondence between Britain and the States, which her majesty had so earnestly recommended.

Certain regulations having been agreed upon, for the avoiding of ceremony and other inconveniences; the conferences began at Utrecht, upon the 29th of January, N.S., 1711–12, at ten in the morning. The ministers of the allies going into the town-house at one door, and those of France at the same instant at another, they all took their seats without distinction; and the Bishop of Bristol, lord privy seal, first plenipotentiary of Britain, opened the assembly with a short speech, directed to the ministers of France, in words to the following effect:

"MESSIEURS,

"We are here to meet to-day, in the name of God, to enter upon a treaty of general peace between the high allies and the king your master. We bring sincere intentions, and express orders from our superiors, to concur, on their part, with whatever may advance and perfect so salutary and Christian a work. On the other side, we hope you have the

same disposition; and that your orders will be so full, as to be able, without loss of time, to answer the expectation of the high allies, by explaining yourselves clearly and roundly upon the points we shall have to settle in these conferences; and that you will perform this in so plain and specific a manner, as every prince and state in the confederacy may find a just and reasonable satisfaction."

The French began, by promising to explain the overtures which Mons. Mesnager had delivered to the queen some months before, and to give in a specific project of what their master would yield, provided the allies would each give a specific answer, by making their several demands; which method, after many difficulties and affected delays in the Dutch, was at length agreed to.

But the States, who had with the utmost discontent seen her majesty at the head of this negotiation, where they intended to have placed themselves, began to discover their ill-humour upon every occasion. They raised endless difficulties about settling the barrier treaty as the queen desired; and in one of the first general conferences, they would not suffer the British secretary to take the minutes, but nominated some Dutch professor for that office; which the queen refused, and resented their behaviour, as a useless cavil, intended only to show their want of respect. The British plenipotentiaries had great reason to suspect that the Dutch were, at this time, privately endeavouring to engage in some separate measures with France, by the intervention of one Moleau, a busy factious agent at Amsterdam, who had been often employed in such intrigues; and that this was the cause which made them so litigious and slow in all their steps, in hopes to break the congress, and find better terms for their trade and barrier from the French, than we ever could think fit to allow

them. The Dutch ministers did also apply themselves with industry to cultivate the imperial plenipotentiary's favour, in order to secure all advantages of commerce with Spain and the West Indies, in case those dominions could be procured for the emperor: for this reason they avoided settling any general plan of peace in concert with the plenipotentiaries of Britain, which her majesty desired; and Mons. Buys plainly told their lordships, "That it was a point, which neither he nor his colleagues could consent to, before the States were admitted equal sharers with Britain in the trade of Spain."

The court, having notice of this untractable temper in the Dutch, gave direct orders to the plenipotentiaries of Britain, for pressing those of the States to adjust the gross inequalities of the barrier treaty; since nothing was more usual, or agreeable to reason, than for princes, who find themselves aggrieved by prejudicial contracts, to expect they should be modified and explained. And since it now appeared by votes in the House of Commons, that the sense of the nation agreed with what her majesty desired, if the Dutch ministers would not be brought to any moderate terms upon this demand, their lordships were directed to improve and amend the particular concessions made to Britain by France, and form them into a treaty; for the queen was determined never to allow the States any share in the assiento, Gibraltar, and Port Mahon; nor could think it reasonable that they should be upon an equal foot with her in the trade of Spain, to the conquest whereof they had contributed so little.

Nor was the conduct of the imperial minister at this time less perplexing than that of the States; both those powers appearing fully bent either upon breaking off the negotiation, or upon forcing from the queen those advantages she expected by it for

her own kingdoms. Her majesty therefore thought fit, about the beginning of March, to send Mr. Thomas Harley, a near relation of the treasurer's, to Utrecht, fully informed of her mind; which he was directed to communicate to the plenipotentiaries of Britain.

Mr. Harley stopped in his way to Utrecht at the Hague, and there told the pensionary, "That nothing had happened lately in England, but what was long ago foretold him, as well as the other ministers of the allies: That the proceedings of the House of Commons, particularly about the barrier treaty, must chiefly be ascribed to the manner in which the queen and the nation had been treated by Mons. Bothmar, Count Gallas, Buys, and other foreign ministers: That if the States would yet enter into a strict union with the queen, give her satisfaction in the said treaty, and join in concert with her plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, a safe and advantageous peace might be obtained for the whole alliance; otherwise, her majesty must save her own country, and join with such of her allies as would join with her.

"As to the war, that the conduct of the allies, and their opposition to the queen, her private intrigues carried on among her own subjects, as well as by open remonstrances, had made the House of Commons take that matter out of the hands of the ministers.

"Lastly, That, in case the present treaty were broken off by the Dutch refusing to comply, her majesty thought it reasonable to insist that some cautionary places be put into her hands, as pledges that no other negotiation should be entered into by the States General, without her participation."

Mr. Harley's instructions to the queen's plenipotentiaries were, "That they should press those of

France to open themselves as far as possible, in concerting such a plan of a general peace as might give reasonable satisfaction to all the confederates, and such as her parliament would approve: That the people of England believed France would consent to such a plan; wherein if they found themselves deceived, they would be as eager for prosecuting the war as ever."

Their lordships were to declare openly to the Dutch, "That no extremity should make her majesty depart from insisting to have the assiento for her own subjects, and to keep Gibraltar and Port Mahon: but if the States would agree with her upon these three heads, she would be content to reduce the trade of Spain and the West Indies to the condition it was in under the late Catholic King Charles II."

The French were farther to be pressed, "That the Pretender should be immediately sent out of that kingdom; and that the most effectual method should be taken for preventing the union of France and Spain under one prince."

About this time her majesty's ministers, and those of the allies at Utrecht, delivered in the several *postulata* or demands of their masters to the French plenipotentiaries; which, having been since made public, and all of them, except those of Britain, very much varying in the course of the negotiation, the reader would be but ill entertained with a transcript of them here.

Upon intelligence of the last dauphin's death, the father, son, and grandson, all of that title, dying within the compass of a year, Mons. Gualtier went to France with letters to the Marquis de Torcy, to propose her majesty's expedient for preventing the union of that kingdom with Spain; which, as it was the most important article to be settled, in order to

secure peace for Europe, so it was a point that required to be speedily adjusted, under the present circumstances and situation of the Bourbon family; there being only left a child of two years old, to stand between the Duke of Anjou and his succeeding to the crown of France.

Her majesty likewise pressed France, by the same dispatches, to send full instructions to their plenipotentiaries; empowering them to offer such a plan of peace as might give reasonable satisfaction to all her allies.

The queen's proposal for preventing a union between France and Spain was, "That Philip should formally renounce the kingdom of France for himself and his posterity; and that this renunciation should be confirmed by the cortes or states of Spain, who, without question, would heartily concur against such a union, by which their country must become a province to France." In like manner, the French princes of the blood were severally to renounce all title to Spain.

The French raised many difficulties upon several particulars of this expedient; but the queen persisted to refuse any plan of peace, before this weighty point were settled in the manner she proposed; which was afterwards submitted to, as in proper place we shall observe. In the meantime, the negotiation at Utrecht proceeded with a very slow pace; the Dutch interposing all obstructions they could contrive, refusing to come to any reasonable temper upon the barrier treaty, or to offer a plan, in concert with the queen, for a general peace. Nothing less would satisfy them, than the partaking in those advantages we had stipulated for ourselves, and which did no wise interfere with their trade or security. They still expected some turn in England. Their friends on this side had ventured to assure

them, "That the queen could not live many months;" which, indeed, from the bad state of her majesty's health, was reasonable to expect. The British plenipotentiaries daily discovered new endeavours of Holland to treat privately with France. And, lastly, those among the States who desired the war should continue strove to gain time, until the campaign should open; and by resolving to enter into action with the first opportunity, render all things desperate, and break up the congress.

This scheme did exactly fall in with Prince Eugene's dispositions, whom the States had chosen for their general, and of whose conduct in this conjuncture the queen had too much reason to be jealous. But her majesty, who was resolved to do her utmost toward putting a good and speedy end to the war, having placed the Duke of Ormond at the head of her forces in Flanders, where he was now arrived, directed him to keep all the troops in British pay, whether subjects or foreigners, immediately under his own command; and to be cautious for a while, in engaging in any action of importance, unless upon a very apparent advantage. At the same time the queen determined to make one thorough trial of the disposition of the States, by allowing them the utmost concessions that could any way suit either with her safety or honour. She therefore directed her ministers at Utrecht to tell the Dutch, "That, in order to show how desirous she was to live in perfect amity with that republic, she would resign up the fifteen *per cent.* advantage upon English goods sent to the Spanish dominions, which the French king had offered her by a power from his grandson; and be content to reduce that trade to the state in which it was under the late King of Spain. She would accept of any tolerable softening of those words in the seventh article of the

barrier treaty, where it is said, 'The States shall have power, in case of an apparent attack, to put as many troops as they please into all the places of the Netherlands,' without specifying an attack from the side of France, as ought to have been done; otherwise the queen might justly think they were preparing themselves for a rupture with Britain. Her majesty likewise consented, that the States should keep Nieuport, Dendermond, and the Castle of Ghent, as an addition to their barrier, although she were sensible how injurious those concessions would be to the trade of her subjects; and would wave the demand of Ostend being delivered into her hands, which she might with justice insist on. In return for all this, that the queen only desired the ministers of the States would enter into a close correspondence with hers; and settle between them some plan of a general peace, which might give reasonable content to all her allies, and which her majesty would endeavour to bring France to consent to. She desired the trade of her kingdoms to the Netherlands, and to the towns of their barrier, might be upon as good a foot as it was before the war began: That the Dutch would not insist to have a share in the assiento, to which they had not the least pretensions; and that they would no longer encourage the intrigues of a faction against her government. Her majesty assured them, in plain terms, that her own future measures, and the conduct of her plenipotentiaries, should be wholly governed by their behaviour in these points; and that her offers were only conditional, in case of their compliance with what she desired."

But all these proofs of the queen's kindness and sincerity could not avail. The Dutch ministers pleaded, "They had no power to concert the plan of general peace with those of Britain." However,

they assured the latter, "That the assiento was the only difficulty which stuck with their masters." Whereupon, at their desire, a contract for that traffic was twice read to them; after which, they appeared very well satisfied, and said, "They would go to the Hague for farther instructions." Thither they went; and, after a week's absence, returned the same answer, "That they had no power to settle a scheme of peace; but could only discourse of it when the difficulties of the barrier treaty were over." And Mons. Buys took a journey to Amsterdam, on purpose to stir up that city, where he was pensionary, against yielding the assiento to Britain; but was unsuccessful in his negotiation; the point being yielded up there, and in most other towns in Holland.

It will have an odd sound in history, and appear hardly credible, that in several petty republics of single towns, which make up the States General, it should be formally debated, whether the Queen of Great Britain, who preserved the commonwealth at the charge of so many millions, should be suffered to enjoy, after a peace, the liberty granted her by Spain of selling African slaves in the Spanish dominions of America! But there was a prevailing faction at the Hague, violently bent against any peace, where the queen must act that part which they had intended for themselves. These politicians, who held constant correspondence with their old dejected friends in England, were daily fed with the vain hopes of the queen's death, or the party's restoration. They likewise endeavoured to spin out the time, till Prince Eugene's activity had pushed on some great event, which might govern or perplex the conditions of peace. Therefore the Dutch plenipotentiaries, who proceeded by the instructions of those mistaken patriots, acted in every point with a spirit of litigiousness, than which

nothing could give greater advantage to the enemy; a strict union between the allies, but especially Britain and Holland, being doubtless the only means for procuring safe and honourable terms from France.

But neither was this the worst; for the queen received undoubted intelligence from Utrecht, that the Dutch were again attempting a separate correspondence with France; and by letters intercepted here from Vienna, it was found that the imperial court, whose ministers were in the utmost confidence with those of Holland, expressed the most furious rage against her majesty, for the steps she had taken to advance a peace.

This unjustifiable treatment the queen could not digest from an ally upon whom she had conferred so many signal obligations, whom she had used with so much indulgence and sincerity, during the whole course of the negotiation, and had so often invited to go along with her in every motion toward a peace. She apprehended likewise, that the negotiation might be taken out of her hands, if France could be secure of easier conditions in Holland, or might think that Britain wanted power to influence the whole confederacy. She resolved, therefore, on this occasion, to exert herself with vigour, steadiness, and dispatch; and, in the beginning of May, sent her commands to the Earl of Strafford, to repair immediately to England, in order to consult with her ministers what was proper to be done.

The proposal above mentioned, for preventing the union of France and Spain, met with many difficulties; Mons. de Torcy raising objections against several parts of it. But the queen refused to proceed any farther with France, until this weighty point were fully settled to her satisfaction; after which, she promised to grant a suspension of

arms, provided the town and citadel of Dunkirk might be delivered as a pledge into her hands; and proposed that Ipres might be surrendered to the Dutch, if they would consent to come into the suspension. France absolutely refused the latter; and the States General having acted in perpetual contradiction to her majesty, she pressed that matter no farther, because she doubted they would not agree to a cessation of arms. However, she resolved to put a speedy end, or at least intermission, to her own share in the war: and the French having declared themselves ready to agree to her expedients for preventing the union of the two crowns, and consented to the delivery of Dunkirk, positive orders were sent to the Duke of Ormond, to avoid engaging in any battle or siege, until he had further instructions; but he was directed to conceal his orders; and to find the best excuses he could, if any pressing occasion should offer.

The reasons for this unusual proceeding, which made a mighty noise, were of sufficient weight to justify it; for, pursuant to the agreement made between us and France, a courier was then dispatched from Fontainbleau to Madrid, with the offer of an alternative to Philip, either of resigning Spain immediately to the Duke of Savoy, upon the hopes of succeeding to France, and some present advantage, which, not having been accepted, is needless to dilate on; or of adhering to Spain, and renouncing all future claim to France for himself and his posterity.

Until it could be known which part Philip would accept, the queen would not take possession of Dunkirk, nor suffer an armistice to be declared. But, however, since the Most Christian King had agreed that his grandson should be forced, in case of a refusal, to make his choice immediately, her

majesty could not endure to think, that perhaps some thousands of lives of her own subjects and allies might be sacrificed without necessity, if an occasion should be found or sought for fighting a battle; which, she very well knew, Prince Eugene would eagerly attempt, and put all into confusion, to gratify his own ambition, the enmity of his new masters the Dutch, and the rage of his court.

But the Duke of Ormond, who, with every other quality that can accomplish or adorn a great man, inherits all the valour and loyalty of his ancestors, found it very difficult to acquit himself of his commission; for Prince Eugene and all the field-deputies of the States had begun already to talk either of attacking the enemy or besieging Quesnoy; the confederate army being now all joined by the troops they expected. And accordingly, about three days after the duke had received those orders from court, it was proposed to his grace, at a meeting with the prince and deputies, "That the French army should be attacked, their camp having been viewed, and a great opportunity offering to do it with success; for the Mareschal de Villars, who had notice sent him by Mons. de Torcy of what was passing, and had signified the same by a trumpet to the duke, showed less vigilance than was usual to that general; taking no precautions to secure his camp, or observe the motions of the allies, probably on purpose to provoke them." The duke said, "That the Earl of Strafford's sudden departure for England made him believe there was something of consequence now transacting, which would be known in four or five days; and therefore desired they would defer this, or any other undertaking, until he could receive fresh letters from England." Whereupon the prince and deputies immediately told the duke, "That they looked for such an answer as he

had given them: That they had suspected our measures for some time; and their suspicions were confirmed by the express his grace had so lately received, as well as by the negligence of Mons. Villars." They appeared extremely dissatisfied; and the deputies told the duke, "That they would immediately send an account of his answer to their masters:" which they accordingly did; and soon after, by order from the States, wrote him an expostulating letter, in a style less respectful than became them; desiring him, among other things, to explain himself, whether he had positive orders not to fight the French; and afterwards told him, "They were sure he had such orders; otherwise he could not answer what he had done." But the duke still waved the question; saying, "He would be glad to have letters from England, before he entered upon action; and that he expected them daily."

Upon this incident, the ministers and generals of the allies immediately took the alarm; vented their fury in violent expressions against the queen, and those she employed in her councils; said, "They were betrayed by Britain;" and assumed the countenance of those who think they have received an injury, and are disposed to return it.

The Duke of Ormond's army consisted of eighteen thousand of her majesty's subjects, and about thirty thousand hired from other princes, either wholly by the queen, or jointly by her and the States. The duke immediately informed the court of the dispositions he found among the foreign generals upon this occasion; and "that, upon an exigency, he could only depend on the British troops adhering to him; those of Hanover having already determined to desert to the Dutch, and tempted the Danes to do the like; and that he had reason to suppose the same of the rest."

Upon the news arriving at Utrecht, that the Duke of Ormond had refused to engage in any action against the enemy; the Dutch ministers there went immediately to make their complaints to the lord privy seal: aggravating the strangeness of this proceeding, together with the consequence of it, in the loss of a most favourable opportunity of ruining the French army, and the discontent it must needs create in the whole body of the confederates; adding, "How hard it was, that they should be kept in the dark, and have no communication of what was done, in a point which so nearly concerned them." They concluded, "That the duke must needs have acted by orders;" and desired his lordship to write, both to court and to his grace, what they had now said.

The bishop answered, "That he knew nothing of this fact, but what they had told him; and therefore was not prepared with a reply to their representations: only, in general, he could venture to say, that this case appeared very like the conduct of their field-deputies upon former occasions: That if such orders were given, they were certainly built upon very justifiable foundations; and would soon be so explained, as to convince the States and all the world, that the common interest would be better provided for another way, than by a battle or siege: That the want of communication, which they complained of, could not make the States so uneasy, as their declining to receive it had made the queen, who had used her utmost endeavours to persuade them to concur with her in concerting every step toward a general peace, and settling such a plan as both sides might approve and adhere to; but, to this day; the States had not thought fit to accept those offers, or to authorize any of their ministers to treat with her majesty's plenipotentiaries upon

that affair, although they had been pressed to it ever since the negotiation began: That his lordship, to show that he did not speak his private sense alone, took this opportunity to execute the orders he had received the evening before, by declaring to them, that all her majesty's offers for adjusting the differences between her and the States were founded upon this express condition, That they should come immediately into the queen's measures, and act openly and sincerely with her; and that, from their conduct so directly contrary, she now looked upon herself to be under no obligation to them."

Monsieur Buys and his colleagues were stunned with this declaration, made to them at a time when they pretended to think the right of complaining to be on their side, and had come to the bishop upon that errand. But after their surprise was abated, and Buys's long reasonings at an end, they began to think how matters might be retrieved; and were of opinion, that the States should immediately dispatch a minister to England, unless his lordship were empowered to treat with them; which, without new commands, he said, he was not. They afterwards desired to know of the bishop, what the meaning was of the last words in his declaration, "That her majesty looked upon herself to be under no obligation to them." He told them his opinion, "That as the queen was bound by treaty to concert with the States the conditions of a peace; so, upon their declining the concert so frequently offered, she was acquitted of that obligation: but that he verily believed, whatever measures her majesty should take, she would always have a friendly regard to the interest of their commonwealth; and that, as their unkindness had been very unexpected and disagreeable to her majesty, so their compliance would be equally pleasing."

I have been the more circumstantial in relating this affair, because it furnished abundance of discourse, and gave rise to many wild conjectures and misrepresentations, as well here as in Holland, especially that part which concerned the Duke of Ormond; for the angry faction in the House of Commons, upon the first intelligence that the duke had declined to act offensively against France, in concurrence with the allies, moved for an address, wherein the queen should be informed of "the deep concern of her Commons, for the dangerous consequences to the common cause, which must arise from this proceeding of her general; and to beseech her, that speedy instructions might be given to the duke, to prosecute the war with vigour, in order to quiet the minds of her people," &c. But a great majority was against this motion; and a resolution drawn up, and presented to the queen by the whole house, of a quite contrary tenor: "That they had an entire confidence in her majesty's most gracious promise to communicate to her parliament the terms of the peace before the same should be concluded; and that they would support her majesty, in obtaining an honourable and safe peace, against all such persons, either at home or abroad, who have endeavoured, or shall endeavour, to obstruct the same.

The courier sent with the alternative to Spain was now returned, with an account that Philip had chosen to renounce France, for himself and his posterity; whereof the queen having received notice, her majesty, upon the 6th of June, in a long speech to both Houses of Parliament, laid before them the terms of a general peace, stipulated between her and France. This speech being the plan whereby both France and the allies have been obliged to proceed in the subsequent course of the treaty, I shall desire the reader's leave to insert it at length,

although I believe it has been already in most hands:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The making of peace and war is the undoubted prerogative of the crown. Yet such is the just confidence I place in you, that, at the opening of this session, I acquainted you that a negotiation for a general peace was begun; and afterwards, by messages, I promised to communicate to you the terms of peace, before the same should be concluded.

"In pursuance of that promise, I now come to let you know upon what terms a general peace may be made.

"I need not mention the difficulties which arise from the very nature of this affair; and it is but too apparent that these difficulties have been increased by other obstructions, artfully contrived to hinder this great and good work.

"Nothing, however, has moved me from steadily pursuing, in the first place, the true interests of my own kingdoms; and I have not omitted anything, which might procure to all our allies what is due to them by treaties, and what is necessary for their security.

"The assuring of the Protestant succession, as by law established, in the House of Hanover, to these kingdoms, being what I have nearest at heart; particular care is taken, not only to have that acknowledged in the strongest terms; but to have an additional security, by the removal of that person out of the dominions of France, who has pretended to disturb this settlement.

"The apprehension that Spain and the West Indies might be united to France was the chief inducement to begin this war; and the effectual preventing of such a union was the principle I laid down at the commencement of this treaty. Former

examples, and the late negotiations, sufficiently show how difficult it is to find means to accomplish this work. I would not content myself with such as are speculative, or depend on treaties only; I insisted on what was solid, and to have at hand the power of executing what should be agreed.

"I can therefore now tell you, that France at last is brought to offer, that the Duke of Anjou shall, for himself and his descendants, renounce for ever all claim to the crown of France; and, that this important article may be exposed to no hazard, the performance is to accompany the promise.

"At the same time, the succession to the crown of France is to be declared, after the death of the present dauphin and his sons, to be in the Duke of Berry and his sons, and the Duke of Orleans and his sons, and so on to the rest of the House of Bourbon.

"As to Spain and the Indies, the succession to those dominions, after the Duke of Anjou and his children, is to descend to such prince as shall be agreed upon at the treaty; for ever excluding the rest of the House of Bourbon.

"For confirming the renunciations and settlements before mentioned, it is farther offered, that they should be ratified in the most strong and solemn manner, both in France and Spain; and that those kingdoms, as well as all the other powers engaged in the present war, shall be guarantees to the same.

"The nature of this proposal is such, that it executes itself: the interest of Spain is to support it; and in France, the persons to whom that succession is to belong, will be ready and powerful enough to vindicate their own right.

"France and Spain are now more effectually divided than ever. And thus, by the blessing of

God, will a real balance of power be fixed in Europe, and remain liable to as few accidents as human affairs can be exempted from.

"A treaty of commerce between these kingdoms and France has been entered upon; but the excessive duties laid on some goods, and the prohibition of others, make it impossible to finish this work so soon as were to be desired. Care is, however, taken to establish a method of settling this matter; and in the meantime provision is made, that the same privileges and advantages as shall be granted to any other nation by France, shall be granted in like manner to us.

"The division of the Island of St. Christopher between us and the French, having been the cause of great inconveniency and damage to my subjects; I have demanded to have an absolute cession made to me of that whole island: and France agrees to this demand.

"Our interest is so deeply concerned in the trade of North America, that I have used my utmost endeavours to adjust that article in the most beneficial manner. France consents to restore to us the whole Bay and Straits of Hudson; to deliver up the Island of Newfoundland, with Placentia; and to make an absolute cession of Annapolis, with the rest of Nova Scotia or Arcadie.

"The safety of our home trade will be better provided for by the demolition of Dunkirk.

"Our Mediterranean trade, and the British interest and influence in those parts, will be secure by the possession of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, with the whole island of Minorca; which are offered to remain in my hands.

"The trade to Spain and to the West Indies may in general be settled as it was in the time of the late King of Spain, Charles the Second; and a

particular provision be made, that all advantages, rights, or privileges, which have been granted, or which may hereafter be granted, by Spain, to any other nation, shall be in like manner granted to the subjects of Great Britain.

"But, the part which we have borne in the pro secution of this war, entitling us to some distinction in the terms of peace, I have insisted, and obtained, that the assiento, or contract for furnishing the Spanish West Indies with negroes, shall be made with us, for the term of thirty years, in the same manner as has been enjoyed by the French for ten years past.

"I have not taken upon me to determine the interests of our confederates: These must be adjusted in the congress at Utrecht; where my best endeavours shall be employed, as they have hitherto constantly been, to procure to every one of them all just and reasonable satisfaction. In the meantime, I think it proper to acquaint you, that France offers to make the Rhine the barrier of the empire; to yield Brisack, the fort of Kehl, and Landau; and to raze all the fortresses both on the other side of the Rhine and in that river.

"As to the Protestant interest in Germany; there will be, on the part of France, no objection to the resettling thereof, on the foot of the treaty of Westphalia.

"The Spanish Low Countries may go to his imperial majesty: the kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia, the duchy of Milan, and the places belonging to Spain on the coast of Tuscany, may likewise be yielded by the treaty of peace to the emperor.

"As to the kingdom of Sicily; though there remains no dispute concerning the cession of it by the Duke of Anjou, yet the disposition thereof is not yet determined.

"The interests of the States General, with respect to commerce, are agreed to, as they have been demanded by their own ministers, with the exception only of some very few species of merchandise; and the entire barrier, as demanded by the States in 1709 from France, except two or three places at most.

"As to these exceptions, several expedients are proposed: and I make no doubt but this barrier may be so settled, as to render that republic perfectly secure against any enterprise on the part of France; which is the foundation of all my engagements, upon this head, with the States.

"The demands of Portugal depending on the disposition of Spain, and that article having been long in dispute, it has not been yet possible to make any considerable progress therein: but my plenipotentiaries will now have an opportunity to assist that king in his pretensions.

"Those of the King of Prussia are such as, I hope, will admit of little difficulty on the part of France; and my utmost endeavours shall not be wanting to procure all I am able to so good an ally.

"The difference between the barrier demanded for the Duke of Savoy in 1709, and the offers now made by France, is very inconsiderable: but that prince having so signally distinguished himself in the service of the common cause, I am endeavouring to procure for him still farther advantages.

"France has consented, that the Elector Palatine shall continue his present rank among the electors, and remain in possession of the Upper Palatinate.

"The electoral dignity is likewise acknowledged in the House of Hanover, according to the article inserted, at that prince's desire, in my demands.

"And as to the rest of the allies, I make no doubt of being able to secure their several interests.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I have now communicated to you not only the terms of peace, which may, by the future treaty, be obtained for my own subjects; but likewise the proposals of France, for satisfying our allies.

"The former are such as I have reason to expect to make my people some amends, for that great and unequal burden which they have lain under, through the whole course of this war; and I am willing to hope, that none of our confederates, and especially those to whom so great accessions of dominion and power are to accrue by this peace, will envy Britain her share in the glory and advantage of it.

"The latter are not so perfectly adjusted, as a little more time might have rendered them; but the season of the year making it necessary to put an end to this session, I resolved no longer to defer communicating these matters to you.

"I can make no doubt but you are all fully persuaded, that nothing will be neglected on my part, in the progress of this negotiation, to bring the peace to a happy and speedy issue; and I depend on your entire confidence in me, and your cheerful concurrence with me."

The discontented party in the House of Commons, finding the torrent against them not to be stemmed, suspended their opposition; by which means, an address was voted, *nemine contradicente*, to acknowledge her majesty's condescension, to express their satisfaction in what she had already done, and to desire she would please to proceed with the present negotiations, for obtaining a speedy peace.

During these transactions at home, the Duke of Ormond was in a very uneasy situation at the army, employed in practising those arts, which perhaps are fitter for a subtle negotiator than a great com-

mander. But as he had always proved his obedience where courage or conduct could be of use; so the duty he professed to his prince made him submit to continue in a state of inactivity at the head of his troops, however contrary to his nature, if it were for her majesty's service. He had sent early notice to the ministers, "That he could not depend upon the foreign forces in the queen's pay;" and he now found some attempts were already begun to seduce them.

While the courier was expected from Madrid, the duke had orders to inform the Mareschal de Villars of the true state of this affair; and "That his grace would have decisive orders in three or four days." In the meantime, he desired the mareschal would not oblige him to come to any action, either to defend himself, or to join with Prince Eugene's army; which he must necessarily do, if the prince were attacked.

When the courier was arrived, with the account that Philip had chosen to accept of Spain, her majesty had proposed to France a suspension of arms for two months (to be prolonged to three or four) between the armies now in Flanders, upon the following conditions:

"That during the suspension, endeavours should be used for concluding a general peace: or, at least, the article for preventing the union of France and Spain should be punctually executed, by Philip's renouncing France, for himself and his posterity; and the princes of Bourbon, in like manner, renouncing Spain: and that the town, citadel, and forts of Dunkirk, should be immediately delivered into the queen's hands." Her majesty, at the same time, endeavoured to get Cambray for the Dutch, provided they would come into the suspension. But this was absolutely rejected by France; which that court never would have ventured to do, if those

allies could have been prevailed on to have acted with sincerity and openness, in concert with her majesty, as her plenipotentiaries had always desired. However, the queen promised, "That if the States would yield to a suspension of arms, they should have some valuable pledge put into their possession."

But now fresh intelligence daily arrived, both from Utrecht and the army, of attempts to make the troops in her majesty's pay desert her service; and a design even of seizing the British forces was whispered about, and with reason suspected.

When the queen's speech was published in Holland, the lord privy seal told the Dutch ministers at Utrecht, "That what her majesty had laid before her parliament could not, according to the rules of treaty, be looked on as the utmost of what France would yield in the course of a negotiation; but only the utmost of what that crown would propose, in order to form the plan of a peace: That these conditions would certainly have been better if the States had thought fit to have gone hand in hand with her majesty, as she had so frequently exhorted them to do: That nothing but the want of harmony among the allies had spirited the French to stand out so long: That the queen would do them all the good offices in her power, if they thought fit to comply; and did not doubt of getting them reasonable satisfaction, both in relation to their barrier and their trade." But this reasoning made no impression. The Dutch ministers said, "The queen's speech had deprived them of the fruits of the war." They were in pain lest Lisle and Tournay might be two of the towns to be excepted out of their barrier. The rest of the allies grew angry, by the example of the Dutch. The populace in Holland began to be inflamed: they publicly talked, "That Britain had betrayed them." Sermons were

preached in several towns of their provinces, whether by direction or connivance, filled with the highest instances of disrespect to her Britannic majesty, whom they charged as a papist, and an enemy to their country. The lord privy seal himself believed something extraordinary was in agitation, and that his own person was in danger from the fury of the people.

It is certain that the States appeared, but a few days before, very much disposed to comply with the measures the queen had taken; and would have consented to a general armistice, if Count Zinzendorf, one of the plenipotentiaries for the emperor, had not, by direct orders from his court, employed himself in sowing jealousies between Britain and the States; and at the same time made prodigious offers to the latter, as well as to the ministers of Prussia, the Palatinate, and Hanover, for continuing the war. That those three electors, who contributed nothing except bodies of men in return of pay and subsidies, should readily accept the proposals of the emperor, is easy to be accounted for. What appears hardly credible is, that a grave republic, usually cautious enough in making their bargains, should venture to reject the thoughts of a peace upon the promises of the House of Austria, the little validity whereof they had so long experienced; and especially when they counted upon losing the support of Britain, their most powerful ally: but the false hopes given them by their friends in England, of some new change in their favour; or an imagination of bringing France to better terms, by the appearance of resolution; added to the weakness or corruption of some who administered their affairs, were the true causes which first created, and afterwards inflamed, this untractable temper among them.

The Dutch ministers were wholly disconcerted and surprised, when the lord privy seal told them, "That a suspension of arms in the Netherlands would be necessary; and that the Duke of Ormond intended very soon to declare it, after he had taken possession of Dunkirk." But his lordship endeavoured to convince them, that this incident ought rather to be a motive for hastening the States into a compliance with her majesty. He likewise communicated to the ministers of the allies the offers made by France, as delivered in the speech from the throne, which her majesty thought to be satisfactory; and hoped, "their masters would concur with her in bringing the peace to a speedy conclusion, wherein each in particular might be assured of her best offices for advancing their just pretensions."

In the meantime, the duke of Ormond was directed to send a body of troops to take possession of Dunkirk, as soon as he should have notice from the Mareschal de Villars that the commandant of the town had received orders from his court to deliver it. But the duke foresaw many difficulties in the executing of this commission. He could trust such an enterprise to no forces, except those of her majesty's own subjects. He considered the temper of the States in this conjuncture; and was loth to divide a small body of men, upon whose faithfulness alone he could depend. He thought it not prudent to expose them to march through the enemy's country, with whom there was yet neither peace nor truce; and he had sufficient reasons to apprehend that the Dutch would either not permit such a detachment to pass through their towns, (as themselves had more than hinted to him,) or would seize them as they passed: besides, the duke had fairly signified to Mareschal de Villars, "That he

expected to be deserted by all the foreign troops in her majesty's pay as soon as the armistice should be declared;" at which the mareschal appearing extremely disappointed, said, "The king his master reckoned, that all the troops under his grace's command should yield to the cessation; and wondered how it should come to pass, that those who might be paid for lying still would rather choose, after a ten years' war, to enter into the service of new masters, under whom they must fight on for nothing." In short, the opinion of Mons. Villars was, "That this difficulty cancelled the promise of surrendering Dunkirk;" which therefore he opposed as much as possible, in the letters he writ to his court.

Upon the Duke of Ormond's representing those difficulties, the queen altered her measures, and ordered forces to be sent from England to take possession of Dunkirk. The duke was likewise commanded to tell the foreign generals in her majesty's service how highly she would resent their desertion; after which their masters must give up all thoughts of any arrears, either of pay or subsidy. The lord privy seal spoke the same language at Utrecht, to the several ministers of the allies, as Mr. Secretary St. John did to those who resided here; adding, "That the proceeding of the foreign troops would be looked upon as a declaration for or against her majesty; and that, in case they desert her service, she would look on herself as justified, before God and man, to continue her negotiation at Utrecht, or any other place, whether the allies concur or not." And particularly the Dutch were assured, "That if their masters seduced the forces hired by the queen, they must take the whole pay, arrears, and subsidies, on themselves."

The Earl of Strafford, preparing about this time

to return to Utrecht, with instructions proper to the present situation of affairs, went first to the army, and there informed the Duke of Ormond of her majesty's intentions. He also acquainted the States deputies with the queen's uneasiness, lest, by the measures they were taking, they should drive her to extremities, which she desired so much to avoid. He farther represented to them, in the plainest terms, the provocations her majesty had received, and the grounds and reasons for her present conduct. He likewise declared to the commanders in chief of the foreign troops in the queen's pay, and in the joint pay of Britain and the States, "with how much surprise her majesty had heard that there was the least doubt of their obeying the orders of the Duke of Ormond; which, if they refused, her majesty would esteem it not only as an indignity and affront, but as a declaration against her; and in such a case, they must look on themselves as no farther entitled either to any arrear, or future pay, or subsidies."

Six regiments, under the command of Mr. Hill, were now preparing to embark, in order to take possession of Dunkirk; and the Duke of Ormond, upon the first intelligence sent him that the French were ready to deliver the town, was to declare, "He could act no longer against France." The queen gave notice immediately of her proceedings to the States. She let them plainly know, "That their perpetual caballing with her factious subjects, against her authority, had forced her into such measures, as otherwise she would not have engaged in. However, her majesty was willing yet to forget all that had passed, and to unite with them in the strictest ties of amity, which she hoped they would now do; since they could not but be convinced, by the late dutiful addresses of both Houses, how far

their high mightinesses had been deluded, and drawn in as instruments to serve the turn, and gratify the passions, of a disaffected party: That their opposition, and want of concert with her majesty's ministers, which she had so often invited them to, had encouraged France to except towns out of their barrier, which otherwise might have been yielded: That, however, she had not precluded them, or any other ally, from demanding more; and even her own terms were but conditional, upon a supposition of a general peace to ensue: That her majesty resolved to act upon the plan laid down in her speech." And she repeated the promise of her best offices to promote the interest of the States, if they would deal sincerely with her.

Some days before the Duke of Ormond had notice that orders were given for the surrender of Dunkirk,* Prince Eugene of Savoy sent for the generals of the allies, and asked them severally, "Whether, in case the armies separated, they would march with him, or stay with the duke?" All of them, except two, who commanded but small bodies, agreed to join with the prince; who thereupon, about three days after, sent the duke word, "That he intended to march the following day, (as it was supposed to besiege Landrecy.") The duke returned an answer, "That he was surprised at the prince's message; there having been not the least

* The following circumstance seems worthy of notice: On the 14th July Villars wrote to the Duke of Ormond, That, as the suspension of arms between France and Britain was to take place on the surrender of Dunkirk, he, knowing the great advantage of not being obliged to encounter the bravest of their enemies, desired to learn from his grace, what troops and what generals would obey his orders; because the first attempt that the allies made, he would not lose a moment in meeting them. To this Ormond declined returning a precise answer.

previous concert with him, nor any mention in the message, which way, or upon what design, the march was intended; therefore, that the duke could not resolve to march with him; much less could the prince expect assistance from the queen's army, in any design undertaken after this manner." The duke told this beforehand, that he (the prince) might take his measures accordingly, and not attribute to her majesty's general any misfortune that might happen.

On the 16th of July, N.S., the several generals of the allies joined Prince Eugene's army, and began their march, after taking leave of the duke and the Earl of Strafford, whose expostulations could not prevail on them to stay; although the latter assured them, "That the queen had made neither peace nor truce with France; and that her forces would now be left exposed to the enemy."

The next day after this famous desertion, the Duke of Ormond received a letter from Mons. de Villars, with an account that the town and citadel of Dunkirk should be delivered to Mr. Hill. Whereupon a cessation of arms was declared, by sound of trumpet, at the head of the British army; which now consisted only of about eighteen thousand men, all of her majesty's subjects, except the Holsteiners, and Count Wallis's dragoons.* With this small body of men the general began his march; and, pursuant to orders from court, retired toward the sea, in the manner he thought most convenient for the queen's service. When he came as far as Flines, he was told by some of his officers, "That the commandants of Bouchain, Douay, Lisle, and

* Barner, who commanded the troops of Holstein, being two battalions and eight squadrons, and Walef or Waless, who commanded the dragoons of Liege, both followed Ormond.

Tournay, had refused them passage through those towns, or even liberty of entrance; and said it was by order of their masters." * The duke immediately recollected, that when the deputies first heard of this resolution to withdraw his troops, they told him, "They hoped he did not intend to march through any of their towns." This made him conclude, that the orders must be general, and that his army would certainly meet with the same treatment which his officers had done. He had likewise, before the armies separated, received information of some designs that concerned the safety, or at least the freedom of his own person, and (which he much more valued) that of those few British troops entrusted to his care. No general was ever more truly or deservedly beloved by his soldiers, who, to a man, were prepared to sacrifice their lives in his service; and whose resentments were raised to the utmost, by the ingratitude, as they termed it, of their deserters.

Upon these provocations, he laid aside all thoughts of returning to Dunkirk, and began to consider how he might perform, in so difficult a conjuncture, something important to the queen, and at the same time find a secure retreat for his forces. He formed his plan without communicating it to any person

* At Bouchain, the British officers were told at the gates, that the commandant had positive orders to let no Englishman into the town; and at Douay, where the English had large stores and magazines, the same thing happened with considerable exaggeration. Indeed, it was with difficulty and precaution that the commandant of the latter town would permit the body of an English colonel to be interred there. The same difficulties occurred at Tournay, Oudenarde, and Lisle; and the Duke of Ormond having sent an officer express to England on the 17th, he was stopped and interrupted at Haspre, misguided at Courtray, and refused admission at Bruges.—*Conduct of the Duke of Ormond*, 1715, p. 49, 50.

whatsoever; and the disposition of the army being to march toward Warneton, in the way to Dunkirk, he gave sudden orders to Lieutenant-General Cadogan,* to change his route, (according to the military phrase,) and move toward Orchies, a town leading directly to Ghent.

When Prince Eugene and the States deputies received news of the duke's motions, they were alarmed to the utmost degree; and sent Count Nassau, of Wordenberg, to the general's camp near Orchies, to excuse what had been done; and to assure his grace, "That those commandants who had refused passage to his officers had acted wholly without orders." Count Hompesch, one of the Dutch generals, came likewise to the duke with the same story; but all this made little impression on the general, who held on his march; and on the 23rd of July, N.S., entered Ghent, where he was received with great submission by the inhabitants, and took possession of the town, as he likewise did of Bruges a few days after.

The Duke of Ormond thought, that, considering the present disposition of the States toward Britain, it might be necessary for the queen to have some pledge from that republic in her hands, as well as from France; by which means her majesty would be empowered to act the part that best became her, of being mediator at least; and that while Ghent was in the queen's hands, no provisions could pass the Scheldt or the Lis without her permission, by

* General Cadogan, who had acted during the war as quarter-master-general to the Duke of Marlborough, had been left out of the establishment of lieutenant-generals under the Duke of Ormond, probably on account of his attachment to the disgraced general; but having solicited earnestly to serve under the Duke of Ormond, his grace obtained the queen's leave for his acting in his former post.

which he had it in his power to starve their army. The possession of these towns might likewise teach the Dutch and Imperialists to preserve a degree of decency and civility to her majesty, which both of them were, upon some occasions, too apt to forget: and besides, there was already in the town of Ghent a battalion of British troops, and a detachment of five hundred men in the citadel, together with a great quantity of ammunition stores for the service of the war, which would certainly have been seized or embezzled: so that no service could be more seasonable or useful in the present juncture than this; which the queen highly approved, and left the duke a discretionary power to act as he thought fit on any future emergency.

I have a little interrupted the order of time in relating the Duke of Ormond's proceedings, who, after having placed a garrison at Bruges, and sent a supply of men and ammunition to Dunkirk, retired to Ghent, where he continued some months, till he had leave to return to England.

Upon the arrival of Colonel Disney at court, with an account that Mr. Hill had taken possession of Dunkirk, a universal joy spread over the kingdom; this event being looked on as the certain forerunner of a peace: besides, the French faith was in so ill a reputation among us, that many persons, otherwise sanguine enough, could never bring themselves to believe that the town would be delivered, till certain intelligence came that it was actually in our hands. Neither were the ministers themselves altogether at ease, or free from suspicion, whatever countenance they made: for they knew very well that the French king had many plausible reasons to elude his promise, if he found cause to repent it; one condition of surrendering Dunkirk being a general armistice of all

the troops in the British pay, which her majesty was not able to perform; and upon this failure, the Mareschal de Villars (as we have before related) endeavoured to dissuade his court from accepting the conditions; and in the very interval while those difficulties were adjusting, the Mareschal d'Uxelles, one of the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, (whose inclinations, as well as those of his colleague Mons. Mesnager, led him to favour the States more than Britain,) assured the lord privy seal, "That the Dutch were then pressing to enter into separate measures with his master." And his lordship, in a visit to Abbé de Polignac, observing a person to withdraw as he entered the abbé's chamber, was told by this minister, "That the person he saw was one Moleau of Amsterdam, (mentioned before,) a famous agent for the States with France, who had been entertaining him (the abbé) upon the same subject; but that he had refused to treat with Moleau, without the privity of England."

Mr. Harley, whom we mentioned above to have been sent early in the spring to Utrecht, continued longer in Holland than was at first expected; but, having received her majesty's farther instructions, was about this time arrived at Hanover. It was the misfortune of his electoral highness to be very ill served by Mons. Bothmar, his envoy here, who assisted at all the factious meetings of the discontented party, and deceived his master by a false representation of the kingdom, drawn from the opinion of those to whom he confined his conversation. There was likewise at the elector's court a little Frenchman, without any merit or consequence, called Robethon, who, by the assistance and encouragement of the last ministry, had insinuated himself into some degree of that prince's favour, which he used in giving his master the

worst impressions he was able of those whom the queen employed in her service; insinuating, "That the present ministers were not in the interest of his highness's family; that their views were toward the Pretender; that they were making an insecure and dishonourable peace; that the weight of the nation was against them; and that it was impossible for them to preserve much longer their credit or power."

The Earl Rivers had, in the foregoing year, been sent to Hanover, in order to undeceive the elector, and remove whatever prejudices might be infused into his highness against her majesty's proceedings; but it should seem that he had no very great success in his negotiation; for, soon after his return to England, Mons. Bothmar's memorial appeared, in the manner I have already related, which discovered the sentiments of his electoral highness (if they were truly represented in that memorial) to differ not a little from those of the queen. Mr. Harley was therefore directed to take the first opportunity of speaking to the elector in private; to assure him, "That although her majesty had thought herself justly provoked by the conduct of his minister, yet such was her affection for his highness, and concern for the interests of his family, that, instead of showing the least mark of resentment, she had chosen to send him (Mr. Harley) fully instructed to open her designs, and show his highness the real interest of Britain in the present conjuncture." Mr. Harley was to give the elector a true account of what had passed in England, during the first part of this session of parliament; to expose to his highness the weakness of those with whom his minister had consulted, and under whose directions he had acted; to convince him how much lower that faction must become when a

peace should be concluded, and when the natural strength of the kingdom, disencumbered from the burden of war, should be at liberty to exert itself; to show him how his interest in the succession was sacrificed to that of a party: That his highness had been hitherto a friend to both sides, but that the measures taken by his ministers had tended only to set him at the head of one, in opposition to the other; to explain to the elector, how fully the safety of Europe was provided for by the plan of peace in her majesty's speech; and how little reason those would appear to have, who complained the loudest of this plan, if it were compared either with our engagements to them when we began the war, or with their performances in the course of it.

Upon this occasion, Mr. Harley was to observe to the elector, "That it should rather be wondered at, how the queen had brought France to offer so much, than yet to offer no more; because, as soon as ever it appeared that her majesty would be at the head of this treaty, and that the interests of Britain were to be provided for, such endeavours were used to break off the negotiation, as are hardly to be paralleled; and the disunion thereby created among the allies, had given more opportunities to the enemy of being slow in their concessions, than any other measures might possibly have done: That this want of concert among the allies could not in any sort be imputed to the queen; who had all along invited them to it with the greatest earnestness, as the surest means to bring France to reason: That she had always in a particular manner pressed the States General to come into the strictest union with her, and opened to them her intentions with the greatest freedom; but finding, that, instead of concurring with her majesty, they were daily carrying on intrigues to break off

the negotiation, and thereby deprive her of the advantages she might justly expect from the ensuing peace, having no other way left, she was forced to act with France, as she did, by herself: That, however, the queen had not taken upon herself to determine the interests of the allies, who were at liberty of insisting on farther pretensions; wherein her majesty would not be wanting, to support them as far as she was able, and improve the concessions already made by France; in which case, a good understanding and harmony among the confederates would yet be of the greatest use, for making the enemy more tractable and easy."

I have been more particular in reciting the substance of Mr. Harley's instructions, because it will serve as a recapitulation of what I have already said upon this subject, and seems to set her majesty's intentions and proceedings at this time in the clearest light.

After the cessation of arms declared by the Duke of Ormond, upon the delivery of Dunkirk, the British plenipotentiaries very earnestly pressed those of Holland to come into a general armistice; for, if the whole confederacy acted in conjunction, this would certainly be the best means for bringing the common enemy to reasonable terms of peace; but the States, deluded by the boundless promises of Count Zinzendorf, and the undertaking talent of Prince Eugene, who dreaded the conclusion of the war, as the period of his glory, would not hear of a cessation. The loss of eighteen thousand Britons was not a diminution of weight in the balance of such an ally as the emperor, and such a general as the prince. Besides, they looked upon themselves to be still superior to France in the field; and although their computation was certainly right in point of number, yet, in my opinion, the conclusion

drawn from it was grounded upon a great mistake. I have been assured by several persons of our own country, and some foreigners of the first rank both for skill and station in arms, that in most victories obtained in the present war, the British troops were ever employed in the post of danger and honour, and usually began the attack; (being allowed to be naturally more fearless than the people of any other country;) by which they were not only an example of courage to the rest, but must be acknowledged, without partiality, to have governed the fortune of the day; since it is known enough, how small a part of an army is generally engaged in any battle. It may likewise be added, that nothing is of greater moment in war than opinion. The French, by their frequent losses, which they chiefly attributed to the courage of our men, believed that a British general, at the head of British troops, was not to be overcome; and the Mareschal de Villars was quickly sensible of the advantage he had got; for, in a very few days after the desertion of the allies, happened the Earl of Albemarle's disgrace at Denain, by a feint of the mareschal's and a manifest failure, somewhere or other, both of courage and conduct, on the side of the confederates; the blame of which was equally shared between Prince Eugene and the earl; although it is certain, the Duke of Ormond gave the latter timely warning of his danger; observing he was neither intrenched as he ought, nor provided with bridges sufficient for the situation he was in, and at such a distance from the main army.*

* It is alleged by the continuator of Rapin, that the surprise and defeat of the confederated troops under the Earl of Albemarle, at Denain, was, in a great measure, owing to the Duke of Ormond having, in spite of all remonstrance, reclaimed and carried off certain pontoons which had been lent to the allies.

The Marquis de Torcy had likewise the same sentiments of what mighty consequence those few British battalions were to the confederate army; since he advised his master to deliver up Dunkirk, although the queen could not perform the condition understood, which was a cessation of arms of all the foreign forces in her pay.

It must be owned, that Mons. de Torcy made great merit of this confidence that his master placed in the queen; and observing her majesty's displeasure against the Dutch, on account of their late proceedings, endeavoured to inflame it with aggravations enough; insinuating, "That since the States had acted so ungratefully, the queen should let her forces join with those of France, in order to compel the confederates to a peace." But although this overture were very tenderly hinted from the French court, her majesty heard it with the utmost abhorrence; and ordered her secretary Mr. St. John (created about this time Viscount Bolingbroke) to tell Mons. de Torcy, "That no provocations whatever should tempt her to distress her allies; but she would endeavour to bring them to reason by fair means, or leave them to their own conduct: That if the former should be found impracticable, she would then make her own peace, and content herself with doing the office of a mediator between both parties; but, if the States should at any time come to a better mind, and suffer their ministers to act in conjunction with hers, she would assert their just interests to the utmost, and make no farther progress in any treaty with France, until those allies

For Prince Eugene having received intelligence of the design against Albemarle, marched to his succour; but the bridge having broken under the quantity of the baggage which had been transported across the Scheldt, he could only remain the spectator of their misfortune.

received all reasonable satisfaction, both as to their barrier and their trade." The British plenipotentiaries were directed to give the same assurances to the Dutch ministers at Utrecht; and withal to let them know, "That the queen was determined, by their late conduct, to make peace either with or without them; but would much rather choose the former."

There was, however, one advantage, which her majesty resolved to make by this defection of her foreigners. She had been led, by the mistaken politics of some years past, to involve herself in several guarantees with the princes of the north, which were in some sort contradictory to one another; but this conduct of theirs wholly annulled all such engagements, and left her at liberty to interpose in the affairs of those parts of Europe, in such a manner, as would best serve the interests of her own kingdoms, as well as that of the Protestant religion, and settle a due balance of power in the north.

The grand article for preventing the union of France and Spain was to be executed during a cessation of arms. But many difficulties arising about that, and some other points of great importance to the common cause, which could not easily be adjusted, either between the French and British plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, or by correspondence between Mons. de Torcy and the ministry here; the queen took the resolution of sending the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke immediately to France, fully instructed in all her intentions, and authorized to negotiate everything necessary for settling the treaty of peace in such a course, as might bring it to a happy and speedy conclusion. He was empowered to agree to a general suspension of arms, by sea and land, between Great Britain, France, and

Spain, to continue for four months, or until the conclusion of the peace; provided France and Spain would previously give positive assurances to make good the terms demanded by her majesty for the Duke of Savoy, and would likewise adjust and determine the forms of the several renunciations to be made by both those crowns, in order to prevent their being ever united. The Lord Bolingbroke was likewise authorized to settle some differences relating to the Elector of Bavaria, for whose interests France was as much concerned as her majesty was for those of the Duke of Savoy; to explain all doubtful articles which particularly related to the advantages of Britain; to know the real *ultimatum*, as it is termed, of France upon the general plan of peace: and lastly, to cut off all hopes from that court of ever bringing the queen to force her allies to a disadvantageous peace; her majesty resolving to impose no scheme at all upon them, or to debar them from the liberty of endeavouring to obtain the best conditions they could.

The Lord Bolingbroke went to France in the beginning of August; was received at court with particular marks of distinction and respect; and in a very few days, by his usual address and ability, performed every part of his commission extremely to the queen's content and his own honour. He returned to England before the end of the month; but Mr. Prior, who went along with him, was left behind, to adjust whatever differences might remain or arise between the two crowns.

In the meantime, the general conferences at Utrecht, which for several weeks had been let fall, since the delivery of Dunkirk, were now resumed. But, the Dutch still declaring against a suspension of arms, and refusing to accept the queen's speech as a plan to negotiate upon, there was no progress

made for some time in the great work of the peace. Whereupon the British plenipotentiaries told those of the States, "That, if the queen's endeavours could not procure more than the contents of her speech, or if the French should ever fall short of what was there offered, the Dutch could blame none but themselves, who, by their conduct, had rendered things difficult that would otherwise have been easy." However, her majesty thought it prudent to keep the States still in hopes of her good offices, to prevent them from taking the desperate course of leaving themselves wholly at the mercy of France; which was an expedient they formerly practised, and which a party among them was now inclined to advise.

While the congress at Utrecht remained in this inactive state, the queen proceeded to perfect that important article for preventing the union of France and Spain. It was proposed and accepted, that Philip should renounce France, for himself and his posterity; and that the Most Christian King, and all the princes of his blood, should in the like manner renounce Spain.

It must be confessed, that this project of renunciation lay under a great disrepute, by the former practices of this very King Lewis XIV., pursuant to an absurd notion among many in that kingdom, of a divine right annexed to proximity of blood, not to be controlled by any human law.

But it is plain the French themselves had recourse to this method, after all their infractions of it, since the Pyrenean treaty; for the first dauphin, in whom the original claim was vested, renounced for himself and his eldest son, which opened the way to Philip Duke of Anjou; who would, however, hardly have succeeded, if it had not been for the will made in his favour by the last King Charles II.

It is indeed hard to reflect, with any patience, upon the unaccountable stupidity of the princes of Europe for some centuries past, who left a probability to France of succeeding, in a few ages, to all their dominions; while, at the same time, no alliance with that kingdom could be of advantage to any prince, by reason of the salique law. Should not common prudence have taught every sovereign in Christendom, to enact a salique law with respect to France? for want of which, it is almost a miracle that the Bourbon family has not possessed the universal monarchy by right of inheritance. When the French assert that a proximity of blood gives a divine right, as some of their ministers (who ought to be more wise or honest) have lately advanced in this very case to the title of Spain; do they not, by allowing a French succession, make their own kings usurpers? Or, if the salique law be divine, is it not of universal obligation, and, consequently, of force to exclude France from inheriting by daughters? Or, lastly, if that law be of human institution, may it not be enacted in any state, with whatever extent or limitation the legislature shall think fit? for the notion of an unchangeable human law is an absurdity in government, to be believed only by ignorance, and supported by power. Hence it follows, that the children of the late Queen of France, although she had renounced, were as legally excluded from succeeding to Spain, as if the salique law had been fundamental in that kingdom; since that exclusion was established by every power in Spain which could possibly give a sanction to any law there: and, therefore, the Duke of Anjou's title is wholly founded upon the bequest of his predecessor, (which has great authority in that monarchy, as it formerly had in ours,) upon the confirmation of the cortes, and the general consent of the people.

It is certain, the faith of princes is so frequently subservient to their ambition, that renunciations have little validity, otherwise than from the powers and parties whose interest it is to support them. But this renunciation, which the queen has exacted from the French king and his grandson, I take to be armed with all the essential circumstances that can fortify such an act: for, as it is necessary for the security of every prince in Europe, that those two great kingdoms should never be united; so the chief among them will readily consent to be guarantees for preventing such a misfortune.

Besides, this proposal (according to her majesty's expression in her speech) is of such a nature that it executes itself; because the Spaniards, who dread such a union for every reason that can have weight among men, took care that their king should not only renounce in the most solemn manner; but likewise that the act should be framed in the strongest terms themselves could invent, or we could furnish them with. As to France, upon supposal of the young dauphin's dying in a few years, that kingdom will not be in a condition to engage in a long war against a powerful alliance, fortified with the addition of the Spaniards, and the party of the Duke of Berry, or whoever else shall be next claimer: and the longer the present dauphin lives, the weaker must Philip's interest be in France; because the princes who are to succeed by this renunciation will have most power and credit in the kingdom.

The mischiefs occasioned by the want of a good understanding between the allies, especially Britain and Holland, were increased every day: the French taking the advantage, and raising difficulties, not only upon the general plan of peace, but likewise upon the explanation of several articles in the projected treaty between them and her majesty. They

insisted to have Lisle, as the equivalent for Dunkirk; and demanded Tournay, Maubeuge, and Conde, for the two or three towns mentioned in the queen's speech, which the British plenipotentiaries were so far from allowing, that they refused to confer with those of France upon that foot; although, at the same time, the former had fresh apprehensions that the Dutch, in a fit of despair, would accept whatever terms the enemy pleased to offer, and, by precipitating their own peace, prevent her majesty from obtaining any advantages, both for her allies and herself.

It is most certain, that the repeated losses suffered by the States, in little more than two months after they had withdrawn themselves from the queen's assistance, did wholly disconcert their counsels; and their prudence (as it is usual) began to forsake them with their good fortune. They were so weak as to be still deluded by their friends in England, who continued to give them hopes of some mighty and immediate resource from hence; for when the Duke of Ormond had been about a month in Ghent, he received a letter from the Mareschal de Villars to inform him, "That the Dutch generals taken at Denain had told the mareschal publicly of a sudden revolution expected in Britain; that particularly the Earl of Albemarle and Mons. Hompesch discoursed very freely of it; and that nothing was more commonly talked of in Holland." It was then likewise confidently reported in Ghent, that the queen was dead; and we all remember what rumour flew about here at the very same time as if her majesty's health were in a bad condition.

Whether such vain hopes as these gave spirit to the Dutch; whether their frequent misfortunes made them angry and sullen; whether they still expected to over-reach us by some private stipula-

tions with France, through the mediation of the Elector of Bavaria, as that prince afterwards gave out; or whatever else was the cause; they utterly refused a cessation of arms, and made not the least return to all the advances and invitations made by her majesty, until the close of the campaign.

It was then the States first began to view their affairs in another light; to consider how little the vast promises of Count Zinzendorf were to be relied on; to be convinced that France was not disposed to break with her majesty, only to gratify their ill humour, or unreasonable demands; to discover that their factious correspondents on this side the water had shamefully misled them; that some of their own principal towns grew heartily weary of the war, and backward in their loans; and lastly, that Prince Eugene, their new general, whether his genius or fortune had left him, was not for their turn. They therefore directed their ministers at Utrecht to signify to the lord privy seal and the Earl of Strafford, "That the States were disposed to comply with her majesty, and to desire her good offices with France; particularly, that Tournay and Condé might be left to them as part of their barrier, without which they could not be safe: That the Elector of Bavaria might not be suffered to retain any town in the Netherlands, which would be as bad for Holland as if those places were in the hands of France: Therefore the States proposed, that Luxembourg, Namur, Charleroy, and Nieuport, might be delivered to the emperor: Lastly, that the French might not insist on excepting the four species of goods out of the tariff of 1664: That if her majesty could prevail with France to satisfy their masters on these articles, they would be ready to submit in all the rest."

When the queen received an account of this good

disposition in the States General, immediately orders were sent to Mr. Prior, to inform the ministers of the French court, "That her majesty had now some hopes of the Dutch complying with her measures; and therefore she resolved, as she had always declared, whenever those allies came to themselves, not to make the peace without their reasonable satisfaction." The difficulty that most pressed was about the disposal of Tournay and Condé. The Dutch insisted strongly to have both, and the French were extremely unwilling to part with either.

The queen judged the former would suffice for completing the barrier of the States. Mr. Prior was therefore directed to press the Marquis de Torcy effectually on this head; and to terminate all that minister's objections, by assuring him of her majesty's resolution to appear openly on the side of the Dutch, if this demand were refused. It was thought convenient to act in this resolute manner with France; whose late success against Holland had taught the ministers of the Most Christian King to resume their old imperious manner of treating with that republic; to which they were farther encouraged by the ill understanding between her majesty and the allies.

This appeared from the result of an idle quarrel that happened, about the end of August,* at Utrecht, between a French and a Dutch plenipotentiary, Mons. Mesnager and Count Rechteren;† wherein the court of France demanded such abject submissions, and with so much haughtiness, as plainly showed

* July.

† The Count de Rechteren had filled the highest offices in the state; he had been field deputy, and ambassador extraordinary at the Imperial Court, several years; was of noble birth, possessed a great fortune, and on several occasions distinguished himself as a gallant man.

they were pleased with any occasion of mortifying the Dutch.

Besides, the politics of the French ran at this time very opposite to those of Britain. They thought the ministers here durst not meet the parliament without a peace; and that, therefore, her majesty would either force the States to comply with France, by delivering up Tournay, which was the principal point in dispute; or would finish her own peace with France and Spain, leaving a fixed time for Holland to refuse or accept the terms imposed on them. But the queen, who thought the demand of Tournay by the States to be very necessary and just, was determined to insist upon it; and to declare openly against France, rather than suffer her ally to want a place so useful for their barrier. And Mr. Prior was ordered to signify this resolution of her majesty to Mons. de Torcy, in case that minister could not be otherwise prevailed on.

The British plenipotentiaries did likewise, at the same time, express to those of Holland her majesty's great satisfaction, "That the States were at last disposed to act in confidence with her: That she wished this resolution had been sooner taken, since nobody had gained by the delay but the French king: That, however, her majesty did not question the procuring of a safe and honourable peace, by united counsels, reasonable demands, and prudent measures: That she would assist them in getting whatever was necessary to their barrier, and in settling to their satisfaction the exceptions made by France out of the tariff of 1664: That no other difficulties remained of moment to retard the peace, since the queen had obtained Sardinia for the Duke of Savoy; and in the settlement of the Low Countries, would adhere to what she delivered from the throne: That, as to the empire, her majesty

heartily wished their barrier as good as could be desired; but that we were not now in circumstances to expect everything exactly according to the scheme of Holland: France had already offered a great part; and the queen did not think the remainder worth the continuance of the war."

Her majesty conceived the peace in so much forwardness, that she thought fit, about this time, to nominate the Duke Hamilton and the Lord Lexington for ambassadors in France and Spain, to receive the renunciations in both courts, and adjust matters of commerce.

The duke * was preparing for his journey, when he was challenged to a duel † by the Lord Mohun,‡ a person of infamous character. He killed his adversary upon the spot, though he himself received a wound; and, weakened by the loss of blood, as he was leaning in the arms of his second, was most barbarously stabbed in the breast by Lieutenant-General Macartney,§ who was second to Lord Mohun. He died a few minutes after in the field, and the murderer made his escape. I thought so surprising an event might deserve barely to be

* James Duke of Hamilton was a gentleman of the bedchamber to King Charles II. He succeeded his father in the title, April 18, 1694, and was sent the same year envoy extraordinary to France; was appointed lord lieutenant of Lancaster in 1710; created Duke of Brandon, September 10, 1711; master-general of the ordnance, August 29, 1712; knight of the Garter, October 26; and when preparing for his embassy to France, was killed, November 15, 1713.

† Swift's account of the duel is exactly agreeable to the dispositions of Colonel Hamilton before a committee of the council.

‡ Charles Lord Mohun was the last offspring of a very noble and ancient family, of which William de Mohun, who accompanied the Norman conqueror, was the first founder in England.

§ General Macartney was tried, at the King's Bench bar, for the murder, June 13, 1716; and the jury found him guilty of manslaughter.

related, although it be something foreign to my subject.

The Earl of Strafford, who had come to England in May last, in order to give her majesty an account of the disposition of affairs in Holland, was now returning with her last instructions, to let the Dutch minister know, "That some points would probably meet with difficulties not to be overcome, which once might have been easily obtained: To show what evil consequences had already flowed from their delay and irresolution; and to entreat them to fix on some proposition, reasonable in itself, as well as possible to be effected: That the queen would insist upon the cession of Tournay by France, provided the States would concur in finishing the peace, without starting new objections, or insisting upon farther points: That the French demands, in favour of the Elector of Bavaria, appeared to be such as the queen was of opinion the States ought to agree to; which were, to leave the elector in possession of Luxembourg, Namur, and Charleroy, subject to the terms of their barrier, until he should be restored to his electorate; and to give him the kingdom of Sardinia, to efface the stain of his degradation in the electoral college: That the earl had brought over a project of a new treaty of succession and barrier, which her majesty insisted the States should sign, before the conclusion of the peace; the former treaty having been disadvantageous to her subjects, containing in it the seeds of future dissentions, and condemned by the sense of the nation: Lastly, that her majesty, notwithstanding all provocations, had, for the sake of the Dutch, and in hopes of their recovery from those false notions which had so long misled them, hitherto kept the negotiations open: That the offers now made them were her last, and this the last

time she would apply to them: That they must either agree, or expect the queen would proceed immediately to conclude her treaty with France and Spain, in conjunction with such of her allies as would think fit to adhere to her.

"As to Savoy; that the queen expected the States would concur with her in making good the advantage stipulated for that duke, and in prevailing with the emperor to consent to an absolute neutrality in Italy, until the peace should be concluded."

The governing party in Holland, however in appearance disposed to finish, affected new delays; and raised many difficulties about the four species of goods which the French had excepted out of the tariff. Count Zinzendorf, the emperor's plenipotentiary, did all that was possible to keep up this humour in the Dutch, in hopes to put them under a necessity of preparing for the next campaign; and some time after went so far in this pursuit, that he summoned the several ministers of the empire, and told them he had letters from his master, with orders to signify to them, "That his imperial majesty resolved to begin the campaign early, with all his forces united against France; of which he desired they would send notice to all their courts, that the several princes might be ready to furnish their contingents and recruits." At the same time, Zinzendorf endeavoured to borrow two millions of florins upon the security of some imperial cities; but could not succeed either among the Jews or at Amsterdam.

When the Earl of Strafford arrived at Utrecht, the lord privy seal and he communicated to the Dutch ministers the new treaty for a succession and barrier, as the queen had ordered it to be prepared here in England, differing from the former in

several points of the greatest moment, obvious to any who will be at the pains to compare them. This was strenuously opposed, for several weeks, by the plenipotentiaries of the States. But the province of Utrecht, where the congress was held, immediately sent orders to their representatives at the Hague, to declare their province thankful to the queen: "That they agreed the peace should be made on the terms proposed by France, and consented to the new projected treaty of barrier and succession." And about the close of the year 1712, four of the seven provinces had delivered their opinions for putting an end to the war.

This unusual precipitation in the States, so different from the whole tenor of their former conduct was very much suspected by the British plenipotentiaries. Their Lordships had received intelligence, "That the Dutch ministers held frequent conferences with those of France, and had offered to settle their interests with that crown without the concurrence of Britain." Count Zinzendorf and his colleagues appeared likewise all on the sudden to have the same dispositions, and to be in great haste to settle their several differences with the States. The reasons for this proceeding were visible enough. Many difficulties were yet undetermined in the treaty of commerce between her majesty and France; for the adjusting of which, and some other points, the queen had lately dispatched the Duke of Shrewsbury to that court. Some of these were of hard digestion, with which the Most Christian King would not be under the necessity of complying, when he had no farther occasion for us, and might, upon that account, afford better terms to the other two powers. Besides the emperor and the States could very well spare her majesty the honour of being arbitrator of a general peace; and the latter

hoped, by this means, to avoid the new treaty of barrier and succession, which were now forcing on them.

To prevent the consequences of this evil, there fortunately fell out an incident, which the two lords at Utrecht knew well how to make use of. The quarrel between Mons. Mesnager and Count Rechteren (formerly mentioned) had not yet been made up. The French and Dutch differing in some circumstances, about the satisfaction to be given by the count for the affront he had offered, the British plenipotentiaries kept this dispute on foot for several days; and in the meantime, pressed the Dutch to finish the new treaty of barrier and succession between her majesty and them, which, about the middle of January, was concluded fully to the queen's satisfaction.

But, while these debates and differences continued at the congress, the queen resolved to put a speedy end to her part in the war. She therefore sent order to the lord privy seal and the Earl of Strafford, to prepare everything necessary for signing her own treaty with France. This she hoped might be done against the meeting of her parliament, now prorogued to the third of February; in which time, those among the allies, who were really inclined towards a peace, might settle their several interests, by the assistance and support of her majesty's plenipotentiaries; and as for the rest, who would either refuse to comply, or endeavour to protract the negotiation, the heads of their respective demands, which France had yielded by her majesty's intervention, and agreeable to the plan laid down in her speech, should be mentioned in the treaty; and a time limited for the several powers concerned to receive or reject them.

The Pretender was not yet gone out of France,

upon some difficulties alleged by the French, about procuring him a safe conduct to Bar-le-duc, in the Duke of Lorrain's dominions, where it was then proposed he should reside. The queen, altogether bent upon quieting the minds of her subjects, declared, "She would not sign the peace till that person were removed;" although several wise men believed he could be nowhere less dangerous to Britain than in the place where he was.

The argument which most prevailed on the States to sign the new treaty of barrier and succession with Britain, was her majesty's promise to procure Tournay for them from France; after which, no more differences remained between us and that republic; and, consequently, they had no farther temptations to any separate transactions with the French, who thereupon began to renew their litigious and haughty manner of treating with the Dutch. The satisfaction they extorted for the affront given by Count Rechteren to Mons. Mesnager, although somewhat softened by the British ministers at Utrecht, was yet so rigorous, that her majesty could not forbear signifying her resentment of it to the Most Christian King. Mons. Mesnager, who seemed to have more the genius of a merchant than a minister, began, in his conferences with the plenipotentiaries of the States, to raise new disputes upon points which both we and they had reckoned upon as wholly settled. The Abbé de Polignac, a most accomplished person, of great generosity and universal understanding, was gone to France, to receive the cardinal's cap; and the Mareschal de Uxelles was wholly guided by his colleague Mons. Mesnager, who kept up those brangles that for a time obstructed the peace; some of which were against all justice, and others of small importance, both of very little advantage to his country, and less

to the reputation of his master or himself. This low talent in business, which the Cardinal de Polignac used, in contempt, to call a spirit of negotiating, made it impossible for the two lords plenipotentiaries, with all their abilities and experience, to bring Mesnager to reason, in several points both with us and the States. His concessions were few and constrained, serving only to render him more tenacious of what he refused. In several of the towns which the States were to keep, he insisted, "That France should retain the chatellanies, or extent of country depending on them, particularly that of Tournay;" a demand the more unjustifiable, because he knew his master had not only proceeded directly contrary, but had erected a court in his kingdom, where his own judges extended the territories about those towns he had taken as far as he pleased to direct them. Mons. Mesnager showed equal obstinacy in what his master expected for the Elector of Bavaria, and in refusing the tariff of 1664: so that the queen's plenipotentiaries represented these difficulties as what might be of dangerous consequence, both to the peace in general, and to the States in particular, if they were not speedily prevented.

Upon these considerations, her majesty thought it her shortest and safest course to apply directly to France, where she had then so able a minister as the Duke of Shrewsbury.

The Marquis de Torcy, secretary to the Most Christian King, was the minister with whom the duke was to treat, as having been the first who moved his master to apply to the queen for a peace, in opposition to a violent faction in that kingdom, who were as eagerly bent to continue the war as any other could be, either here or in Holland.

It would be very unlike an historian, to refuse

this great minister the praise he so justly deserves, of having treated, through the whole course of so great a negotiation, with the utmost candour and integrity; never once failing in any promise he made, and tempering a firm zeal to his master's interest, with a ready compliance to what was reasonable and just. Mr. Prior, whom I have formerly mentioned, resided likewise now at Paris, with the character of a minister plenipotentiary; and was very acceptable to that court, upon the score of his wit and humour.

The Duke of Shrewsbury was directed to press the French court upon the points yet unsettled in the treaty of commerce between both crowns: To make them drop their unreasonable demands for the Elector of Bavaria: To let them know, "That the queen was resolved not to forsake her allies, who were now ready to come in; and that she thought the best way of hastening the general peace was, to determine her own particular one with France, until which time she could not conveniently suffer her parliament to meet."

The States were by this time so fully convinced of the queen's sincerity and affection to their republic, and how much they had been deceived by the insinuations of the factious party in England, that they wrote a very humble letter to her majesty, to desire her assistance towards settling those points they had in dispute with France, and professing themselves ready to acquiesce in whatever explanation her majesty would please to make of the plan proposed in her speech to the parliament.

But the queen had already prevented their desires; and in the beginning of February 1712-13, directed the Duke of Shrewsbury to inform the French court, "That since she had prevailed on her allies the Dutch to drop the demand of Condé, and

the other of the four species of goods which the French had excepted out of the tariff of 1664, she would not sign without them: That she approved of the Dutch insisting to have the chatellanies restored with the towns; and was resolved to stand or fall with them, until they were satisfied in this point."

Her majesty had some apprehensions that the French created these difficulties, on purpose to spin out the treaty until the campaign should begin. They thought it absolutely necessary that our parliament should meet in a few weeks; which could not well be ventured, until the queen were able to tell both houses that her own peace was signed: That this would not only facilitate what remained in difference between Britain and France, but leave the Dutch entirely at the mercy of the latter.

The queen, weary of these refined mistakes in the French politics, and fully resolved to be trifled with no longer, sent her determinate orders to the Duke of Shrewsbury, to let France know, "That her majesty had hitherto prorogued her parliament, in hopes of accommodating the difficulties in her own treaties of peace and commerce with that crown, as well as settling the interests of her several allies; or at least, that the differences in the former being removed, the Most Christian King would have made such offers for the latter, as might justify her majesty in signing her own peace, whether the confederates intended to sign theirs or not. But several points being yet unfinished between both crowns, and others between France and the rest of the allies, especially the States, to which the plenipotentiaries of that court at Utrecht had not thought fit to give satisfaction; the queen was now come to a final determination, both with relation to her own kingdoms, and to the whole alliance:

That the campaign approaching, she would not willingly be surprised in case the war was to go on: That she had transmitted to the Duke of Shrewsbury her last resolutions, and never would be prevailed on to reduce her own demands, or those of her allies, any lower than the scheme now sent over, as an explanation of the plan laid down in her speech: That her majesty had sent orders to her plenipotentiaries at Utrecht to assume the character of ambassadors, and sign the peace immediately with the ministers of the Most Christian King, as soon as the Duke of Shrewsbury should have sent them notice that the French had complied: That the queen had therefore farther prorogued her parliament to the third of March, in hopes to assure them, by that time, of her peace being agreed on; for, if the two houses meet, while any uncertainty remained, supplies must be asked as for a war."

The Duke of Shrewsbury executed this important commission with that speed and success which could only be expected from an able minister. The French king immediately yielded to the whole scheme her majesty proposed; whereupon directions were sent to the lord privy seal and the Earl of Strafford, to sign a peace between Great Britain and France without delay.

Upon the second day of March the two British plenipotentiaries met those of the allies in the town-house of Utrecht; where the lord privy seal addressed himself to them in a short speech: "That the negotiation had now continued fourteen months with great slowness, which had proved very injurious to the interests of the allies: That the queen had staid thus long, and stopped the finishing of her own peace, rather than leave her allies in any uncertainty: That she hoped they would now be all prepared to put an end to this great work; and

therefore had commanded her plenipotentiaries to tell those of the allies, that she found it necessary to conclude her own treaty immediately; and it was her opinion, that the confederates ought to finish theirs at the same time; to which they were now accordingly invited by her majesty's orders." And lastly, his lordship declared, in the queen's name, "That whoever could not be ready on the day prefixed should have a convenient time allowed them to come in."

Although the orders sent by the queen to her plenipotentiaries were very precise, yet their lordships did not precipitate the performance of them. They were directed to appoint as short a day for the signing as they conveniently could; but, however, the particular day was left to their discretion. They hoped to bring over the Dutch, and most of the other allies, to conclude at the same time with the queen; which, as it would certainly be more popular to their country, so they conceived it would be more safe for themselves. Besides, upon looking over their commission, a scruple sprang in their minds, that they could not sign a particular peace with France; their powers, as they apprehended, authorizing them only to sign a general one. Their lordships therefore sent to England to desire new powers; and, in the meantime, employed themselves with great industry, between the ministers of France and those of the several allies, to find some expedient for smoothing the way to an agreement among them.

The Earl of Strafford went for a few days to the Hague, to inform the States of her majesty's express commands to his colleague and himself, for signing the peace as soon as possible; and to desire they would be ready at the same time: which the pensionary promised; and that their plenipotentiaries

should be empowered accordingly, to the great contentment of Mons. Buys, who was now so much altered, either in reality or appearance, that he complained to the earl of Mons. Heinsius's slowness; and charged all the delays and mismanagements of a twelvemonth past to that minister's account.

While the Earl of Strafford staid at the Hague, he discovered that an emissary of the Duke of Marlborough's had been there some days before, sent by his grace to dissuade the Dutch from signing at the same time with the ministers of the queen, which, in England, would at least have the appearance of a separate peace, and oblige their British friends, who knew how to turn so short a delay to very good account, as well as gratify the emperor; on whom, it was alleged, they ought to rely much more than on her majesty. One of the States likewise told the earl, "That the same person employed by the duke was then in conference with the magistrates of Rotterdam, (which town had declared for the continuance of the war,) to assure them, if they would hold off a little, they should see an unexpected turn in the British parliament: That the Duke of Marlborough had a list of the discontented members in both houses, who were ready to turn against the court: and, to crown all, that his grace had certain intelligence of the queen being in so ill a state of health, as made it impossible for her to live above six weeks." So restless and indefatigable are avarice and ambition, when inflamed by a desire of revenge!

But representations, which had been so often tried, were now offered too late. Most of the allies, except the emperor, were willing to put an end to the war upon her majesty's plan; and the farther delay of three weeks must be chiefly imputed to that litigious manner of treating peculiar to the

French: whose plenipotentiaries at Utrecht insisted with obstinacy upon many points, which at Paris Mons. de Torcy had given up.

The emperor expected to keep all he had already possessed in Italy; that Port Langue, on the Tuscan coast, should be delivered to him by France; and lastly, that he should not be obliged to renounce Spain. But the queen, as well as France, thought his imperial majesty ought to sit down contented with his partage of Naples and Milan: and to restore those territories in Italy which he had taken from the rightful proprietors, and by the possession of which he has grown dangerous to the Italian princes, by reviving antiquated claims upon them.

This prince had likewise objected to her majesty's expedient of suffering the Elector of Bavaria to retain Luxembourg, under certain conditions, by way of security, until his electorate were restored. But the queen, supposing that these affected delays were intended only with a view of continuing the war, resolved to defer the peace no longer on the emperor's account.

In the middle of March 1712–13, a courier arrived at Utrecht from France, with the plan of a general peace, as it had been agreed between the Duke of Shrewsbury and Mons. de Torcy; wherein every particular relating to the interests and pretensions of the several allies was brought so near to what each of them would accept, that the British plenipotentiaries hoped the peace would be general in ten or twelve days. The Portuguese and Dutch were already prepared, and others were daily coming in, by the means of their lordships' good offices, who found Mons. Mesnager and his colleague stubborn to the last. Another courier was dispatched to France, upon some disputes about inserting the

titles of her majesty and the Most Christian King; and to bring a general plan for the interests of those allies who should not be ready against the time prefixed. The French renunciations were now arrived at Utrecht; and it was agreed that those, as well as that of the King of Spain, should be inserted at length in every treaty; by which means the whole confederacy would become guarantees of them.

The courier last sent to France returned to Utrecht on the 27th of March, with the concessions of that court upon every necessary point; so that, all things being ready for putting a period to this great and difficult work, the lord privy seal and the Earl of Strafford gave notice to the ministers of the several allies, "That their lordships had appointed Tuesday the 31st instant, wherein to sign a treaty of peace and a treaty of commerce, between the Queen of Great Britain their mistress, and the Most Christian King; and hoped the said allies would be prepared at the same time to follow their example." Accordingly their lordships employed the three intervening days in smoothing the few difficulties that remained between the French ministers and those of the several confederate powers.

The important day being now come, the Lord Bishop of Bristol and the Earl of Strafford having assumed the character of ambassadors extraordinary, gave a memorial in behalf of the French Protestants to the Mareschal d'Uxelles and his colleague, who were to transmit it to their court; and these delivered to the British ambassadors a declaration in writing, that the Pretender was actually gone out of France.

The conditions of peace to be allowed the emperor and the empire, as adjusted between Britain and France, were now likewise delivered to the

Count Zinzendorf. These and some other previous matters of smaller consequence being finished, the treaties of peace and commerce between her majesty of Britain and the Most Christian King were signed at the lord privy seal's house, between two and three of the clock in the afternoon. The ministers of the Duke of Savoy signed about an hour after. Then the assembly adjourned to the Earl of Strafford's, where they all went to dinner; and about nine at night the peace was signed by the ministers of Portugal, by those of Prussia at eleven, and when it was near midnight by the States.

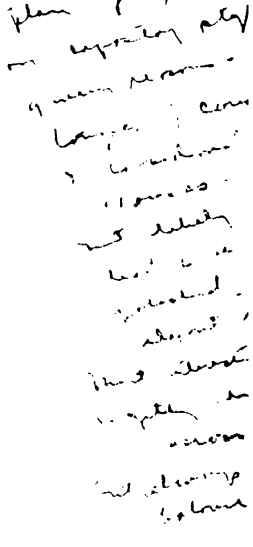
Thus, after all the opposition raised by a strong party in France, and by a virulent faction in Britain; after all the artifices of those who presided at the Hague, who, for their private interest, endeavoured, in conjunction with their friends in England, to prolong the war; after the restless endeavours of the imperial court to render the treaty ineffectual; the firm steady conduct of the queen, the wisdom and courage of her ministry, and the abilities of those whom she employed in her negotiations abroad, prevailed to have a peace signed in one day, by every power concerned, except that of the emperor and the empire; for his imperial majesty liked his situation too well to think of a peace, while the drudgery and expences of the war lay upon other shoulders, and the advantages were to redound only to himself.

During this whole negotiation, the King of Spain, who was not acknowledged by any of the confederates, had consequently no minister at Utrecht; but the differences between her majesty and that prince were easily settled by the Lord Lexington at Madrid, and the Marquis of Monteleon here: so that, upon the Duke d'Ossuna's arrival at the congress, some days after the peace, he was ready to

conclude a treaty between the queen and his master. Neither is it probable that the Dutch, or any other ally, except the emperor, will encounter any difficulties of moment, to retard their several treaties with his Catholic majesty.

The treaties of peace and commerce between Britain and France were ratified here on the 7th of April; on the 28th, the ratifications were exchanged; and on the 5th of May, the peace was proclaimed in the usual manner; but with louder acclamations, and more extraordinary rejoicings of the people, than had ever been remembered on the like occasion.

[It need hardly be observed, that this history is left incomplete by the author.]



SOME

FREE THOUGHTS

UPON THE

PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1714.

ABOUT a month before the demise of Queen Anne, the Dean, having laboured to reconcile the ministers to each other without success, retired to the house of a friend in Berkshire, and never saw them more. But during this retreat he wrote the following Treatise, which he thought might be of some use even in that juncture, and sent it up to London to be printed; but, upon some difference in opinion between the author and the late Lord Bolingbroke, the publication was delayed till the queen's death, and then he recalled his copy: it was afterwards placed in the hands of the late Alderman Barber, from whom it was obtained to be printed. The ruin of the ministry, by this animosity among themselves, was long foreseen and foretold by Swift; and it appears by Lord Bolingbroke's letter to Sir William Wyndham, that in his heart he renounced his friendship for Oxford long before the conclusion of the peace, though it did not appear till afterwards. "The peace," says he, "which had been judged to be the only solid foundation whereupon we could erect a Tory system, and yet, when it was made, we found ourselves at a stand; nay, the very work, which ought to have been the basis of our strength, was in part demolished before our eyes, and we were stoned with the ruins of it." This event probably rendered the disunion of the ministry visible; some, principally endeavour-

ing to secure themselves, some, still labouring to establish at all events the party they had espoused, which saw nothing but "increase of mortification, and nearer approaches to ruin:" and it is not to be wondered at, that, when this Treatise was written, the Dean's attempts to reconcile his friends were unsuccessful; for Bolingbroke declares, that he abhorred Oxford to such a degree, that he would rather have suffered banishment or death, than have taken measures in concert with him to have avoided either.—D. S.

It may be observed with what frankness Swift censures the reserved and suspicious conduct of Oxford, to which chiefly he imputes the breach between the ministers; yet there is no doubt that his personal attachment for that statesman was much greater than that which he entertained for Bolingbroke.

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WHATEVER may be thought or practised by profound politicians, they will hardly be able to convince the reasonable part of mankind, that the most plain, short, easy, safe, and lawful way to any good end, is not more eligible, than one directly contrary to some or all of these qualities. I have been frequently assured by great ministers, that politics were nothing but common sense; which, as it was the only true thing they spoke, so it was the only thing they could have wished I should not believe. God has given the bulk of mankind a capacity to understand reason, when it is fairly offered; and by reason they would easily be governed, if it were left to their choice. Those princes in all ages, who were most distinguished for their mysterious skill in government, found by the event, that they had ill consulted their own quiet, or the ease and happiness of their people; nor has posterity remembered them with honour: such as Lysander and Philip among the Greeks, Tiberius in Rome, Pope Alexander the Sixth and his son Cæsar Borgia, Queen Catherine de Medicis, Philip the Second of Spain, with many

others. Nor are examples less frequent of ministers, famed for men of great intrigue, whose politics have produced little more than murmurings, factions, and discontents, which usually terminated in the disgrace and ruin of the authors.

I can, recollect but three occasions in a state, where the talents of such men may be thought necessary; I mean in a state where the prince is obeyed and loved by his subjects: first, in the negotiation of the peace; secondly, in adjusting the interests of our own country, with those of the nations round us, watching the several motions of our neighbours and allies, and preserving a due balance among them: lastly, in the management of parties and factions at home. In the first of these cases I have often heard it observed, that plain good sense, and a firm adherence to the point, have proved more effectual than all those arts, which I remember a great foreign minister used in contempt to call the spirit of negotiating. In the second case, much wisdom, and a thorough knowledge of affairs both foreign and domestic, are certainly required: after which, I know no talents necessary beside method and skill in the common forms of business. In the last case, which is that of managing parties, there seems indeed to be more occasion for employing this gift of the lower politics, whenever the tide runs high against the court and ministry; which seldom happens under any tolerable administration, while the true interest of the nation is pursued. But, here in England, (for I do not pretend to establish maxims of government in general,) while the prince and ministry, the clergy, the majority of landed men, and the bulk of the people, appear to have the same views and the same principles, it is not obvious to me, how those at the helm can have many opportunities of showing their skill in mystery

and refinement, beside what themselves think fit to create.

I have been assured by men long practised in business, that the secrets of court are much fewer than we generally suppose; and I hold it for the greatest secret of the court, that they are so: because the first springs of great events, like those of rivers, are so often mean and so little, that in decency they ought to be hid: and therefore ministers are so wise to leave their proceedings to be accounted for by reasoners at a distance, who often mould them into systems, that do not only go down very well in the coffeehouse, but are supplies for pamphlets in the present age, and may probably furnish materials for memoirs and histories in the next.

It is true, indeed, that even those who are very near the court, and are supposed to have a large share in the management of public matters, are apt to deduce wrong consequences, by reasoning upon the causes and motives of those actions, wherein themselves are employed. A great minister puts you a case, and asks your opinion, but conceals an essential circumstance, upon which the whole weight of the matter turns; then he despises your understanding for counselling him no better, and concludes he ought to trust entirely to his own wisdom. Thus he grows to abound in secrets and reserves, even towards those with whom he ought to act in the greatest confidence and concert: and thus the world is brought to judge, that whatever be the issue and event, it was all foreseen, contrived, and brought to pass by some masterstroke of his politics.*

* Swift expresses to Stella, with his usual unreserve, the very same opinion of Harley's false policy which he here announces, or meant to announce, to the public. "He cannot do all himself, and will not employ others, which is his great fault, as I have often told you."

I could produce innumerable instances, from my own memory and observation, of events imputed to the profound skill and address of a minister, which in reality were either the mere effects of negligence, weakness, humour, passion, or pride; or, at best, but the natural course of things left to themselves.

During this very session of parliament, a most ingenious gentleman, who has much credit with those in power, would needs have it, that, in the late dissentions at court, which grew too high to be any longer a secret, the whole matter was carried with the utmost dexterity on one side, and with manifest ill conduct on the other. To prove this, he made use of the most plausible topics, drawn from the nature and disposition of the several persons concerned, as well as of her majesty; all which he knows as much of as any man: and gave me a detail of the whole with such an appearance of probability, as, committed in writing, would pass for an admirable piece of secret history. Yet I am at the same time convinced by the strongest reasons, that the issue of those dissentions, as to the part they had in the court and the House of Lords, was partly owing to very different causes, and partly to the situation of affairs, whence, in that conjuncture, they could not easily terminate otherwise than they did, whatever unhappy consequences they may have for the future.

In like manner, I have heard a physician pronounce with great gravity, that he had cured so many patients of malignant fevers, and as many more of the small-pox; whereas, in truth, nine parts in ten of those who recovered owed their lives to the strength of nature and a good constitution, while such a one happened to be their doctor.

But, while it is so difficult to learn the springs and motives of some facts, and so easy to forget

the circumstances of others, it is no wonder they should be so grossly misrepresented to the public by curious inquisitive heads, who proceed altogether upon conjectures, and, in reasoning upon affairs of state, are sure to be mistaken by searching too deep. And as I have known this to be the frequent error of many others, so I am sure it has been perpetually mine, whenever I have attempted to discover the causes of political events by refinement and conjecture; which, I must acknowledge, has very much abated my veneration for what they call *arcana imperii;* whereof I dare pronounce, that the fewer there are in any administration, it is just so much the better.

What I have hitherto said has by no means been intended to detract from the qualities requisite in those who are trusted with the administration of public affairs; on the contrary, I know no station of life, where great abilities and virtues of all kinds are so highly necessary, and where the want of any is so quickly or universally felt. A great minister has no virtue, for which the public may not be the better; nor any defect, by which the public is not certainly a sufferer. I have known more than once or twice within four years past, an omission, in appearance very small, prove almost fatal to a whole scheme, and very hardly retrieved. It is not always sufficient for the person at the helm that he is intrepid in his nature, free from any tincture of avarice or corruption, and that he has great natural and acquired abilities.

I never thought the reputation of much secrecy was a character of any advantage to a minister, because it put all other men upon their guard to be as secret as he, and was consequently the occasion that persons and things were always misrepresented to him: because likewise too great an

affectation of secrecy is usually thought to be attended with those little intrigues and refinements, which, among the vulgar, denominate a man a great politician; but among others, is apt, whether deservedly or not, to acquire the opinion of cunning: a talent, which differs as much from the true knowledge of government, as that of an attorney from an able lawyer. Neither indeed am I altogether convinced, that this habit of multiplying secrets may not be carried on so far as to stop that communication which is necessary, in some degree, among all who have any considerable part in the management of public affairs: because I have observed the inconveniences arising from a want of love between those who were to give directions, to have been of as ill consequence as any that could happen from the discovery of secrets. I suppose, when a building is to be erected, the model may be the contrivance only of one head; and it is sufficient that the under-workmen be ordered to cut stones into certain shapes, and place them in certain positions; but the several master-builders must have some general knowledge of the design, without which they can give no orders at all. And, indeed, I do not know a greater mark of an able minister, than that of rightly adapting the several faculties of men; nor is anything more to be lamented, than the impracticableness of doing this in any great degree, under our present circumstances; while so many shut themselves out by adhering to a faction, and while the court is enslaved to the impatience of others, who desire to sell their vote or their interest as dear as they can. But whether this has not been submitted to more than was necessary, whether it has not been dangerous in the example, and pernicious in the practice, I will leave to the inquiry of those who can better determine.

It may be matter of no little admiration to consider, in some lights, the state of affairs among us for four years past. The queen, finding herself and the majority of her kingdom grown weary of the avarice and insolence, the mistaken politics, and destructive principles of her former ministers, calls to the service of the public another set of men, who, by confession of their enemies, had equal abilities at least with their predecessors; whose interest made it necessary for them (although their inclinations had been otherwise) to act upon those maxims which were most agreeable to the constitution in church and state: whose birth and patrimonies gave them weight in the nation; and who (I speak of those who were to have the chief part in affairs) had long lived under the strictest bonds of friendship: with all these advantages, supported by a vast majority of the landed interest, and the inferior clergy almost to a man, we have several times seen the present administration in the greatest distress, and very near the brink of ruin, together with the cause of the church and monarchy committed to their charge; neither does it appear to me at the minute I am now writing, that their power or duration are upon any tolerable foot of security: which I do not so much impute to the address and industry of their enemies, as to some failures among themselves, which I think have been full as visible in their causes as their effects.

Nothing has given me greater indignation than to behold a ministry, who came in with the advantages I have represented, acting ever since upon the defensive in the House of Lords, with a majority on their side; and, instead of calling others to account, as it was reasonably expected, mispending their time, and losing many opportunities of doing good, because a struggling faction kept them con-

tinually in play. This courage among the adversaries of the court was inspired into them by various incidents, for every one of which I think the ministers, or (if that was the case) the minister alone is to answer.

For, first, that race of politicians, who, in the cant phrase, are called the *whimsicals*,* was never so numerous, or at least so active, as it has been since the great change at court; many of those who pretended wholly to be in with the principles upon which her majesty and her new servants proceeded, either absenting themselves with the utmost indifference, in those conjunctures whereon the whole cause depended, or siding directly with the enemy.

I very well remember, when this ministry was not above a year old, there was a little murmuring among such as are called the higher Tories or churchmen, that quicker progress was not made in removing those of the discontented party out of employments. I remember, likewise, the reasonings upon this matter were various, even among many who were allowed to know a good deal of the inside of the court; some supposed the queen was at first prevailed upon to make that great change, with no other view than that of acting for the future upon a moderating scheme, in order to reconcile both parties; and I believe there might possibly have been some grounds for this supposition. Others conceived the employments were left undisposed of, in order to keep alive the hopes of many more impatient candidates than ever could be gratified. This has since been looked on as a very high strain of politics, and to have succeeded accordingly; because it is the opinion of many, that the numerous pretenders to places would never have been kept in

* Tories, who deserted their party after peace was concluded.

order, if all expectation had been cut off. Others were yet more refined; and thought it neither wise nor safe wholly to extinguish all opposition from the other side; because, in the nature of things, it was absolutely necessary that there should be parties in an English parliament; and a faction already odious to the people might be suffered to continue with less danger than any new one that could arise. To confirm this, it was said, that the majority in the House of Commons was too great on the side of the high-church, and began to form themselves into a body, (by the name of the October Club,) in order to put the ministry under subjection. Lastly, the danger of introducing too great a number of unexperienced men at once into office, was urged as an irrefragable reason for making changes by slow degrees. To discard an able officer from an employment, or part of a commission, where the revenue or trade were concerned, for no other reason but differing in some principles of government, might be of terrible consequence.

However, it is certain that none of these excuses were able to pass among men, who argued only from the principles of general reason. For, first, they looked upon all schemes of apprehension to be as visionary and impossible in the state as in the church. Secondly, while the spirit raised by the trial of Dr. Sacheverell continued in motion, men were not so keen upon coming in themselves, as to see their enemies out, and deprived of all assistance to do mischief: and it is urged farther, that this general ambition of hunting after places grew chiefly from seeing them so long undisposed of, and from too general an encouragement by promises to all, who were thought capable of doing either good or hurt. Thirdly, the fear of creating another party, in case the present faction were wholly subdued,

was, in the opinion of plain men, and in regard to the situation of our affairs, too great a sacrifice of the nation's safety to the genius of politics; considering how much was to be done, and how little time might probably be allowed. Besides, the division of a House of Commons into court and country parties, which was the evil they seemed to apprehend, could never be dangerous to a good ministry, who had the true interest and constitution of their country at heart; as for the apprehension of too great a majority in the House of Commons, it appeared to be so vain, that, upon some points of importance, the court was hardly able to procure one. And the October Club, which appeared so formidable at first to some politicians, proved in the sequel to be the chief support of those who suspected them. It was likewise very well known that the greatest part of those men, whom the former ministry left in possession of employments, were loudly charged with insufficiency or corruption, over and above their obnoxious tenets in religion and government; so that it would have been a matter of some difficulty to make a worse choice: beside that the plea for keeping men of factious principles in employment upon the score of their abilities, was thought to be extended a little too far, and construed to take in all employments whatsoever, although many of them required no more abilities than would serve to qualify a gentleman-usher at court: so that this last excuse for the very slow steps made in disarming the adversaries of the crown, was allowed indeed to have more plausibility, but less truth, than any of the former.

I do not here pretend to condemn the counsels or actions of the present ministry: their safety and interest are visibly united with those of the public, they are persons of unquestionable abilities, alto-

gether unsuspected of avarice or corruption, and have the advantage to be farther recommended by the dread and hatred of the opposite faction. However, it is manifest, that the zeal of their friends has been cooling toward them for above two years past: they have been frequently deserted or distressed upon the most pressing occasions, and very near giving up in despair: their characters have been often treated with the utmost barbarity and injustice, in both houses, by scurrilous and enraged orators; while their nearest friends, and even those who must have a share in their disgrace, never offered a word in their vindication.

When I examine with myself what occasions the ministry may have given for this coldness, inconstancy, and discontent among their friends, I at the same time recollect the various conjectures, reasonings, and suspicions, which have run so freely for three years past, concerning the designs of the court: I do not only mean such conjectures as are born in a coffeehouse, or invented by the malice of a party; but also the conclusions (however mistaken) of wise and good men, whose quality and station fitted them to understand the reason of public proceedings, and in whose power it lay to recommend or disgrace an administration to the people. I must therefore take the boldness to assert, that all these discontents, how ruinous soever they may prove in the consequences, have most unnecessarily arisen from the want of a due communication and concert. Every man must have a light sufficient for the length of the way he is appointed to go: there is a degree of confidence due to all stations: and a petty constable will neither act cheerfully nor wisely, without that share of it which properly belongs to him: although the main spring of a watch be out of sight, there is an intermediate communication be-

tween it and the smallest wheel, or else no useful motion could be performed. This reserved mysterious way of acting upon points, where there appeared not the least occasion for it, and towards persons, who, at least in right of their post, expected a more open treatment, was imputed to some hidden design, which every man conjectured to be the very thing he was most afraid of. Those who professed the height of what is called the church principle, suspected that a comprehension was intended wherein the moderate men on both sides might be equally employed. Others went farther, and dreaded such a comprehension, as directly tending to bring the old exploded principles and persons once more into play. Again, some affected to be uneasy about the succession, and seemed to think there was a view of introducing that person, whatever he is, who pretends to claim the crown by inheritance. Others, especially of late, surmised, on the contrary, that the demands of the House of Hanover were industriously fomented by some in power, without the privity of the —— or ——.* Now, although these accusations were too inconsistent to be all of them true, yet they were maliciously suffered to pass, and thereby took off much of that popularity, of which those at the helm stood in need, to support them under the difficulties of a long perplexing negotiation, a daily addition of public debts, and an exhausted treasury.

But the effects of this mystical manner of proceeding did not end here: for the late dissentions between the great men at court (which have been, for some time past, the public entertainment of every

* Lord Oxford was suspected by the Jacobites of favour for the House of Hanover, while Bolingbroke and Ormond were certainly in the interest of the Chevalier de St. George.

coffeehouse) are said to have arisen from the same fountain: while, on one side, very great reserve, and certainly very great resentment on the other, if we may believe general report, (for I pretend to know no farther,) have inflamed animosities to such a height, as to make all reconcilement impracticable. Supposing this to be true, it may serve for a great lesson of humiliation to mankind, to behold the habits and passions of men, otherwise highly accomplished, triumphing over interest, friendship, honour, and their own personal safety, as well as that of their country, and probably of a most gracious princess, who has entrusted it to them. A ship's crew quarrelling in a storm, or while their enemies are within gunshot, is but a faint idea of this fatal infatuation: of which, although it be hard to say enough, some people may think perhaps I have already said too much.

Since this unhappy incident, the desertion of friends, and loss of reputation, have been so great, that I do not see how the ministers could have continued many weeks in their stations, if their opposers of all kinds had agreed about the methods by which they should be ruined: and their preservation hitherto seems to resemble his, who had two poisons given him together of contrary operations.*

It may seem very impertinent, in one of my level, to point out to those, who sit at the helm, what course they ought to steer. I know enough of courts to be sensible how mean an opinion great ministers have of most men's understandings: to a degree, that, in any other science, would be called the grossest pedantry. However, unless I offer my sentiments in this point, all I have hitherto said will be to no purpose.

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* An incident in Dryden's well-known tragedy of Don Sebastian.

The general wishes and desires of a people are perhaps more obvious to other men than to ministers of state.—There are two points of the highest importance, wherein a very great majority of the kingdom appear perfectly hearty and unanimous. First, that the church of England should be preserved entire in all her rights, powers, and privileges; all doctrines relating to government discouraged, which she condemns; all schisms, sects, and heresies, discountenanced, and kept under due subjection, as far as consists with the lenity of our constitution; her open enemies (among whom I include at least dissenters of all denominations) not trusted with the smallest degree of civil or military power; and her secret adversaries, under the names of Whigs, low church, republicans, moderation-men, and the like, receive no marks of favour from the crown, but what they should deserve by a sincere reformation.

Had this point been steadily pursued in all its parts, for three years past, and asserted as the avowed resolution of the court, there must probably have been an end of faction, which has been able, ever since, with so much vigour to disturb and insult the administration. I know very well, that some refiners pretend to argue for the usefulness of parties in such a government as ours; I have said something of this already, and have heard a great many idle wise topics upon the subject. But I shall not argue that matter at present: I suppose if a man think it necessary to play with a serpent, he will choose one of a kind that is least mischievous; otherwise, although it appears to be crushed, it may have life enough to sting him to death. So, I think it is not safe tampering with the present faction, at least in this juncture: first, because their principles and practices have been already very dangerous to the constitution in church and state: secondly, be-

cause they are highly irritated with the loss of their power, full of venom and vengeance, and prepared to execute everything that rage or malice can suggest: but principally, because they have prevailed, by misrepresentations, and other artifices, to make the successor look upon them as the only persons he can trust: upon which account they cannot be too soon or too much disabled: neither will England ever be safe from the attempts of this wicked confederacy, until their strength and interests shall be so far reduced, that for the future it shall not be in the power of the crown, although in conjunction with any rich and factious body of men, to choose an ill majority in the House of Commons.

One step very necessary to this great work will be, to regulate the army, and chiefly those troops which, in their turns, have the care of her majesty's person; who are most of them fitter to guard a prince under a high court of justice, than seated on the throne.* The peculiar hand of Providence has hitherto preserved her majesty, encompassed, whether sleeping or travelling, by her enemies: but since religion teaches us, that Providence ought not to be tempted, it is ill venturing to trust that precious life any longer to those who, by their public behaviour and discourse, discover their impatience to see it at an end; that they may have liberty to be the instruments of glutting at once the revenge of their patrons and their own. It should be well remembered, what a satisfaction these gentlemen (after the example of their betters) were so sanguine to express upon the queen's last illness at Windsor, and what threatenings they used of refusing to obey their general, in case that illness

* The guards were attached to the Duke of Marlborough, and to the interest of those ministers under whom the military reputation of England had risen so high.

had proved fatal. Nor do I think it a want of charity to suspect, that, in such an evil day, an enraged faction would be highly pleased with the power of the sword, and with great connivance leave it so long unsheathed, until they were got rid of their most formidable adversaries. In the meantime, it must be a very melancholy prospect, that whenever it shall please God to visit us with this calamity, those who are paid to be defenders of the civil power will stand ready for any acts of violence, that a junto, composed of the greatest enemies to the constitution, shall think fit to enjoin them.

The other point of great importance is, the security of the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover; not from any partiality to that illustrious house, farther than as it has had the honour to mingle with the blood royal of England, and is the nearest branch of our regal line reformed from popery. This point has one advantage over the former, that both parties profess to desire the same blessing for posterity, but differ about the means of securing it. Whence it has come to pass, that the Protestant succession, in appearance the desire of the whole nation, has proved the greatest topic of slander, jealousy, suspicion, and discontent.

I have been so curious to ask several acquaintances among the opposite party, whether they, or their leaders, did really suspect there had been ever any design in the ministry to weaken the succession in favour of the Pretender, or of any other person whatsoever. Some of them freely answered in the negative: others were of the same opinion, but added, they did not know what might be done in time, and upon farther provocations: others again seemed to believe the affirmative, but could never produce any plausible grounds for their belief. I

have likewise been assured by a person of some consequence, that, during a very near and constant familiarity with the great men at court for four years past, he never could observe, even in those hours of conversation where there is usually least restraint, that one word ever passed among them to show a dislike to the present settlement: although they would sometimes lament, that the false representations of theirs, and the kingdom's enemies, had made some impressions in the mind of the successor.* As to my own circle of acquaintance, I can safely affirm that, excepting those who are nonjurors by profession, I have not met with above two persons who appeared to have any scruples concerning the present limitation of the crown. I therefore think it may very impartially be pronounced, that the number of those, who wish to see the son of the abdicated prince upon the throne, is altogether inconsiderable. And farther, I believe it will be found, that there are none who so much dread any attempt he shall make for the recovery of his imagined rights as the Roman Catholics of England; who love their freedom and properties too well to desire his entrance by a French army and a field of blood; who must continue upon the same foot, if he changes his religion, and must expect to be the first and greatest sufferers, if he should happen to fail.

As to the person of this nominal prince, he lies under all manner of disadvantages; the vulgar imagine him to have been a child imposed upon the nation by the fraudulent zeal of his parents, and

* Yet the flight of Bolingbroke and Ormond, and the rebellion, headed by the Earl of Mar, secretary of state for Scotland under their administration, plainly show their designs in favour of the exiled family were deep and dangerous, though concealed from the Tories of Swift's principles.

their bigotted counsellors; who took special care, against all the rules of common policy, to educate him in their hateful superstition, sucked in with his milk, and confirmed in his manhood, too strongly to be now shaken by Mr. Lesley;* and a counterfeit conversion will be too gross to pass upon the kingdom, after what we have seen and suffered from the like practice in his father. He is likewise said to be of weak intellectuals, and an unsound constitution; he was treated contemptibly enough by the young princes of France, even during the war; is now wholly neglected by that crown, and driven to live in exile upon a small exhibition; he is utterly unknown in England, which he left in the cradle; his father's friends are most of them dead, the rest antiquated or poor. Six and twenty years have almost past since the Revolution, and the bulk of those who are now most in action either at court, in parliament, or public offices, were then boys at school or the universities, and look upon that great change to have happened during a period of time for which they are not accountable. The logic of the highest Tories is now, that this was the establishment they found, as soon as they arrived at a capacity of judging; that they had no hand in turning out the late king, and therefore had no crime to answer for, if it were any; that the inheritance to the crown is fixed in pursuance of laws made ever since their remembrance, by which all papists are excluded, and they have no other rule to go by; that they will no more dispute King William the Third's title than King William the First's; since they must have recourse to history for both; that they have been instructed in the doctrines of pas-

* Mr. Lesley, the nonjuror, as has been more than once mentioned, went to Bar-le-Duc, with the hope of converting the Chevalier St. George to the Protestant faith.

sive obedience, non-resistance, and hereditary right, and find them all necessary for preserving the present establishment in church and state, and for continuing the succession in the house of Hanover, and must in their own opinion renounce all those doctrines by setting up any other title to the crown. This, I say, seems to be the political creed of all the high principled men I have for some time met with of forty years old and under; which, although I do not pretend to justify in every part, yet I am sure it sets the Protestant succession upon a much firmer foundation, than all the indigested schemes of those who profess to act upon what they call Revolution principles.

Neither should it perhaps be soon forgotten, that, during the greatest licentiousness of the press, while the sacred character of the queen was every day insulted in factious papers and ballads, not the least reflecting insinuation ever appeared against the Hanover family, whatever occasion was offered to intemperate pens, by the rashness or indiscretion of one or two ministers from thence.

From all these considerations, I must therefore lay it down as an incontestable truth, that the succession to these kingdoms in the illustrious house of Hanover is as firmly secured as the nature of the thing can possibly admit; by the oaths of all those who are entrusted with any office, by the very principles of those who are termed the high church, by the general inclinations of the people, by the insignificancy of that person who claims it from inheritance, and the little assistance he can expect either from princes abroad, or adherents at home.

However, since the virulent opposers of the queen and her administration have so far prevailed by their emissaries at the court of Hanover, and by their practices upon one or two ignorant un-

mannerly messengers from thence, as to make the elector desire some farther security, and send over a memorial here to that end; the great question is, how to give reasonable satisfaction to his highness, and (what is infinitely of greater consequence) at the same time consult the honour and safety of the queen, whose quiet possession is of much more consequence to us of the present age, than his reversion. The substance of his memorial, if I retain it right, is, to desire that some one of his family might live in England, with such a maintenance as is usual to those of the royal blood, and that certain titles should be conferred upon the rest, according to ancient custom. The memorial does not specify which of the family should be invited to reside here; and if it had, I believe, however, her majesty would have looked upon it as a circumstance left to her own choice.*

But, as all this is most manifestly unnecessary in itself, and only in compliance with the mistaken doubts of a presumptive heir; so the nation would (to speak in the language of Mr. Steele) expect,

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* No monarch, in the declining years, and imperfect health of Queen Anne, could reasonably be supposed to desire that a successor, so distantly connected by blood, should move in the same sphere. How much the queen dreaded the presence of the Elector of Hanover appears from one of her letters to the Duke of Marlborough.

"*July 22d*, 1708.

"—I cannot end this, without giving you an account, in short, of a visit I had from Lord Haversham. He told me his business was to let me know, there was certainly a design laying between the Whigs and some great men, to have an address made in the next sessions of parliament, for inviting the electoral prince over to settle here, and that he would certainly come to make a visit as soon as the campaign was over, and that there was nothing for me to do, to prevent my being forced to do this, (as I certainly would,) but my showing myself to be queen, and making it my own act. I told him if this matter should be brought into parliament,

that her majesty should be made perfectly easy from that side for the future; no more to be alarmed with apprehensions of visits, or demands of writs, where she has not thought fit to give any invitation. The nation would likewise expect, that there should be an end of all private commerce between that court, and the leaders of a party here: and that his electoral highness should declare himself entirely satisfied with all her majesty's proceedings, her treaties of peace and commerce, her alliances abroad, her choice of ministers at home, and particularly in her most gracious condescensions to his request: that he would upon all proper occasions, and in the most public manner, discover his utter dislike of factious persons and principles, but especially of that party, which, under the pretence or shelter of his protection, has so long disquieted the kingdom: and lastly, that he would acknowledge the goodness of the queen, and justice of the nation, in so fully securing the succession to his family.

It is indeed a problem which I could never comprehend, why the court of Hanover, who have all

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whoever proposed it, whether Whig or Tory, I should look upon neither of them as my friends, nor would ever make any invitation neither to the young man, nor his father, nor his grandmother.

"——What I have to say upon this subject, at this time, is, to beg you would find whether there is any design where you are that the young man should make a visit in the winter, and contrive some way to put any such thought out of their head, that the difficulty may not be brought upon me of refusing him leave to come, if he should ask it; or forbidding him to come, if he should attempt it: For one of these two things *I must do*, if either he or his father should have any desires to have him see this country, it being a thing *I cannot bear*, to have any successor here, though but for a week: And therefore I shall depend upon you to do everything on the other side of the water to prevent this mortification from coming upon her, that is, and ever will be, most sincerely," &c.—*Account of the Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough*, p. 152.

along thought themselves so perfectly secure in the affections, the principles, and the professions of the low church party, should not have endeavoured, according to the usual politics of princes, to gain over those who are represented as their enemies; since these supposed enemies had made so many advances, were in possession of all the power, had framed the very settlement to which that illustrious family owes its claim; had all of them abjured the Pretender; were now employed in the great offices of state, and composed a majority in both houses of parliament. Not to mention, that the queen herself, with the bulk of the landed gentry and commonalty throughout the kingdom, were of the number. This, one would think, might be a strength sufficient not only to obstruct, but to bestow a succession: and since the presumed heir could not but be perfectly secure of the other party, whose greatest avowed grievance was the pretended danger of his future rights; it must therefore surely have been worth his while, to have made at least one step toward cultivating a fair correspondence with the power in possession. Neither could those, who are called his friends, have blamed him, or with the least decency enter into any engagements for defeating his title.

But why might not the reasons of this proceeding in the elector be directly contrary to what is commonly imagined? Methinks I could endeavour to believe, that his highness is thoroughly acquainted with both parties; is convinced, that no true member of the church of England can easily be shaken in his principles of loyalty, or forget the obligation of an oath, by any provocation. That these are therefore the people he intends to rely upon, and keeps only fair with the others, from a true notion he has of their doctrines, which prompt them to for-

get their duty upon every motive of interest or ambition. If this conjecture be right, his highness cannot sure but entertain a very high esteem of such ministers, who continue to act under the dread and appearance of a successor's utmost displeasure, and the threats of an enraged faction, whom he is supposed alone to favour, and to be guided entirely in his judgment of British affairs and persons by their opinions.

But to return from this digression; the presence of that infant prince among us could not, I think, in any sort, be inconsistent with the safety of the queen; he would be in no danger of being corrupted in his principles, or exposed in his person by vicious companions; he could be at the head of no factious clubs and cabals, nor be attended by a hired rabble, which his flatterers might represent as popularity. He would have none of that impatience which the frailty of human nature gives to expecting heirs. There would be no pretence for men to make their court, by affecting German modes and refinements in dress or behaviour: nor would there be any occasion of insinuating to him how much more his levee was frequented than the antichamber of St. James's. Add to all this, the advantages of being educated in our religion, laws, language, manners, nature of government, each so very different from those he would leave behind. By which likewise he might be highly useful to his father, if that prince should happen to survive her majesty.

The late King William, who, after his marriage with the Lady Mary of England, could have no probable expectation of the crown, and very little even of being a queen's husband, (the Duke of York having a young wife,) was no stranger to our language or manners, and went often to the chapel of his princess; which I observe the rather, because

I could heartily wish the like disposition were in another court, and because it may be disagreeable to a prince to take up new doctrines on a sudden, or speak to his subjects by an interpreter.

An ill-natured or inquisitive man may still, perhaps, desire to press the question farther, by asking what is to be done, in case it should so happen, that this malevolent working party at home has credit enough with the court of Hanover to continue the suspicion, jealousy, and uneasiness there, against the queen and her ministry; to make such demands be still insisted on, as are by no means thought proper to be complied with; and in the meantime to stand at arm's length with her majesty, and in close conjunction with those who oppose her.

I take the answer to be easy: in all contests, the safest way is to put those we dispute with as much in the wrong as we can. When her majesty shall have offered such, or the like concessions, as I have above mentioned, in order to remove those scruples artificially raised in the mind of the expectant heir, and to divide him from that faction by which he is supposed to have been misled; she has done as much as any prince can do, and more than any other would probably do in her case; and will be justified before God and man, whatever be the event. The equitable part of those who now side against the court will probably be more temperate; and if a due dispatch be made in placing the civil and military power in the hands of such as wish well to the constitution, it cannot be any way for the quiet or interest of a successor to gratify so small a faction, as will probably then remain, at the expence of a much more numerous and considerable part of his subjects. Neither do I see how the principles of such a party, either in religion or government, will prove very agreeable, because I think Luther and

Calvin seem to have differed as much as any two among the reformers: and because a German prince will probably be suspicious of those who think they can never depress the prerogative enough.

But supposing, once for all, as far as possible, that the elector should utterly refuse to be upon any terms of confidence with the present ministry, and all others of their principles, as enemies to him and the succession; nor easy with the queen herself, but upon such conditions as will not be thought consistent with her safety and honour; and continue to place all his hopes and trust in the discontented party; I think it were humbly to be wished, that whenever the succession shall take place, the alterations intended by the new prince should be made by himself, and not by his deputies: because I am of opinion, that the clause empowering the successor to appoint a latent, unlimited number, additional to the seven regents named in the act, went upon a supposition that the secret committee would be of such, whose enmity and contrary principles disposed them to confound the rest. King William, whose title was much more controverted than that of her majesty's successor can ever probably be, did, for several years, leave the administration of the kingdom in the hands of lords justices, during the height of a war, and while the abdicated prince himself was frequently attempting an invasion: whence one might imagine, that the regents appointed by parliament, upon the demise of the crown, would be able to keep the peace during an absence of a few weeks without any colleagues. However, I am pretty confident that the only reason, why a power was given of choosing dormant viceroys, was to take away all pretence of a necessity to invite over any of the family here, during her majesty's life. So that I do

not well apprehend what arguments the elector can use to insist upon both.

To conclude: the only way of securing the constitution in church and state, and consequently this very Protestant succession itself, will be by lessening the power of our domestic adversaries as much as can possibly consist with the lenity of our government; and if this be not speedily done, it will be easy to point where the nation is to fix the blame: for we are well assured, that since the account her majesty received of the cabals, the triumphs, the insolent behaviour of the whole faction during her late illness at Windsor, she has been as willing to see them deprived of all power to do mischief, as any of her most zealous and loyal subjects can desire.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS

UPON THE

CONSEQUENCES HOPED AND FEARED

FROM THE

DEATH OF THE QUEEN.

AUGUST 9, 1714.

IN order to set in a clear light what I have to say upon this subject, it will be convenient to examine the state of the nation, with reference to the two contending parties; this cannot well be done, without some little retrospection into the five last years of her late majesty's reign.

I have it from unquestionable authority, that the Duchess of Marlborough's favour began to decline very soon after the queen's accession to the throne, and that the Earl Godolphin's held not much above two years longer; although her majesty (no ill concealer of her affections) did not think fit to deprive them of their power until a long time after.

The Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin, having fallen early into the interests of the lower party, for certain reasons not seasonable

here to be mentioned, (but which may deserve a place in the history of that reign,) they made large steps that way upon the death of the Prince of Denmark, taking several among the warmest leaders of that side into the chief employment of state. Mr. Harley, then secretary of state, who disliked their proceedings, and had very near overthrown their whole scheme, was removed with the utmost indignation; and about the same time, Sir Simon Harcourt, and Mr. St. John, with some others, voluntarily gave up their employments.

But the queen, who had then a great esteem for the person and abilities of Mr. Harley, (and in proportion of the other two, although at that time not equally known to her,) was deprived of his service with some regret: and upon that, and other motives well known at court, began to think herself hardly used; and several stories ran about, whether true or false, that her majesty was not always treated with that duty she might expect. Meantime the church party were loud in their complaints; surmising from the virulence of several pamphlets, from certain bills projected to be brought into parliament, from endeavours to repeal the sacramental test, from the avowed principles and free speeches of some persons in power, and other jealousies needless to repeat, that ill designs were forming against the religion established. These fears were all confirmed by the trial of Sacheverell; which drew the populace, as one man, into the party against the ministry and parliament.

The ministry were very suspicious that the queen had still a reserve of favour for Mr. Harley, which appeared by a passage that happened some days after his removal: for the Earl of Godolphin's coach and his happening to meet near Kensington, the earl, a few hours after, reproached the queen, that

she privately admitted Mr. Harley, and was not, without some difficulty, undeceived by her majesty's asseverations to the contrary.

Soon after the doctor's trial, this gentleman, by the queen's command, and the intervention of Mrs. Masham, was brought up the back stairs; and that princess, spirited by the addresses from all parts, which showed the inclinations of her subjects to be very averse from the proceedings in court and parliament, was resolved to break the united power of the Marlborough and Godolphin families, and to begin this work by taking the disposal of employments into her own hands; for which an opportunity happened by the death of the Earl of Essex, Lieutenant of the Tower: whose employment was given to the Earl Rivers, to the great discontent of the Duke of Marlborough, who intended it for the Duke of Northumberland, then colonel of the Oxford Regiment, to which the Earl of Hertford was to succeed. Some time after, the chamberlain's staff was disposed of to the Duke of Shrewsbury, in the absence, and without the privity, of the Earl of Godolphin. The Earl of Sunderland's removal followed; and lastly, that of the high treasurer himself, whose office was put into commission, whereof Mr. Harley (made at the same time chancellor of the exchequer) was one. I need say nothing of other removals, which are well enough known and remembered: let it suffice, that in eight or nine months' time the whole face of the court was altered, and very few friends of the former ministry left in any great stations there.

I have good reason to be assured, that when the queen began this change, she had no intentions to carry it so far as the church party expected, and have since been so impatient to see. For, although she was a true professor of the religion established,

yet the first motives to this alteration did not arise from any dangers she apprehended to that or the government; but from a desire to get out of the dominion of some, who, she thought, had kept her too much and too long in pupilage. She was in her own nature extremely dilatory and timorous; yet, upon some occasions, positive to a great degree. And when she had got rid of those who had, as she thought, given her the most uneasiness, she was inclined to stop, and entertain a fancy of acting upon a moderate scheme, whence it was very difficult to remove her. At the same time, I must confess my belief, that this imagination was put into her head, and made use of as an encouragement to begin that work, after which, her advisers might think it easier to prevail with her, to go as far as they thought fit. That these were her majesty's dispositions in that conjuncture may be confirmed by many instances. In the very height of the change, she appeared very loth to part with two great officers of state of the other party: and some, whose absence the new ministers most earnestly wished, held in for above two years after.

Mr. Harley, who acted as first minister before he had the staff, as he was a lover of gentle measures, and inclined to procrastination, so he could not, with any decency, press the queen too much against her nature; because it would be like running upon a rock where his predecessor had split. But violent humours running about in the kingdom and the new parliament, against the principles and persons of the low church party, gave this minister a very difficult part to play. The warm members in both houses, especially among the Commons, pressed for a thorough change; and so did almost all the queen's new servants, especially after Mr. Harley was made an earl and high treasurer.—He could not, in good

policy, own his want of power, nor fling the blame upon his mistress. And as too much secrecy was one of his faults, he would often, upon these occasions, keep his nearest friends in the dark. The truth is, he had likewise other views, which were better suited to the maxims of state in general than to that situation of affairs. By leaving many employments in the hands of the discontented party, he fell in with the queen's humour; he hoped to acquire the reputation of lenity; and kept a great number of expectants in order, who had liberty to hope, while anything remained undisposed of. He seemed also to think, as other ministers have done, that since factions are necessary in such a government as ours, it would be prudent not altogether to lay the present one prostrate, lest another more plausible, and therefore not so easy to grapple with, might arise in its stead.

However, it is certain that a great part of the load he bore was unjustly laid on him. He had no favourites among the Whig party, whom he kept in upon the score of old friendship or acquaintance; and he was a greater object of their hatred than all the rest of the ministry together.

AN

INQUIRY

INTO THE BEHAVIOUR OF

THE QUEEN'S LAST MINISTRY,

WITH RELATION TO THEIR QUARRELS AMONG THEMSELVES, AND THE DESIGN CHARGED UPON THEM OF ALTERING THE SUCCESSION OF THE CROWN.

WRITTEN IN JUNE 1715.

SINCE the death of the queen, it was reasonable enough for me to conclude that I had done with all public affairs and speculations; besides, the scene and station I am in have reduced my thoughts into a narrow compass: and being wholly excluded from any view of favour under the present administration, upon that invincible reason of having been in some degree of trust and confidence with the former, I have not found the transition very difficult into a private life, for which I am better qualified, both by nature and education.

The reading of, and inquiring after news, not

being one of my diversions, having always disliked a mixed and general conversation, which, however it fell to my lot, is now in my power to avoid; and being placed, by the duties of my function, at a great distance from the seat of business, I am altogether ignorant of many common events which happen in the world: only, from the little I know and hear, it is manifest that the hearts of most men are filled with doubts, fears, and jealousies, or else with hatred and rage, to a degree that there seems to be an end of all amicable commerce between people of different parties; and what the consequences of this may be, let those consider who have contributed to the causes: which, I thank God, is no concern of mine.

There are two points, with reference to the conduct of the late ministry, much insisted on, and little understood by those who write or talk upon that subject; wherein I am sufficiently qualified to give satisfaction; and would gladly do it, because I see very much weight laid upon each, and most men's opinions of persons and things regulated accordingly.

About two months before the queen's death, having lost all hopes of any reconcilement between the treasurer and the rest of the ministry, I retired into the country, to await the issue of that conflict, which ended, as every one had reason to foresee, in the Earl of Oxford's disgrace; to whom the Lord Bolingbroke immediately succeeded as first minister: and I was told, that an earldom and the Garter were intended for him in a fortnight, and the treasurer's staff against the next session of parliament: of which I can say nothing certain, being then in Berkshire, and receiving this account from some of his friends. But all these schemes became soon abortive, by the death of the queen,

which happened in three days after the Earl of Oxford's removal.

Upon this great event, I took the first opportunity of withdrawing to my place of residence; and rejoiced as much as any man for his majesty's quiet accession to the throne, to which I then thought, and it has since appeared indisputable, that the peace procured by the late ministry had, among other good effects, been highly instrumental. And I thank God, I have been ever since a loyal humble spectator, during all the changes that have happened, although it were no secret to any man of common sagacity, that his present majesty's choice of his servants, whenever he should happen to succeed, would be determined to those who most opposed the proceedings during the four last years of his predecessor's reign: and I think there has not since happened one particular of any moment, which the ministers did not often mention at their tables, as what they certainly expected, from the disposition of the court at Hanover, in conjunction with the party at home; which, upon all occasions, publicly disapproved their proceedings, excepting only the attainder of the Duke of Ormond; which, indeed, neither they nor I, nor, I believe, any one person in the three kingdoms, did ever pretend to foresee; and now it is done, it looks like a dream, to those who consider the nobleness of his birth, the great merits of his ancestors, and his own; his long unspotted loyalty, his affability, generosity, and sweetness of nature. I knew him long and well; and excepting the frailties of his youth, which had been for some years over, and that easiness of temper, which did sometimes lead him to follow the judgment of those who had, by many degrees, less understanding than himself, I have not conversed with a more faultless person; of great justice

and charity; a true sense of religion, without ostentation; of undoubted valour, thoroughly skilled in his trade of a soldier; a quick and ready apprehension, with a good share of understanding, and a general knowledge in men and history; although under some disadvantage by an invincible modesty, which, however, could not but render him yet more amiable to those who had the honour and happiness of being thoroughly acquainted with him. This is a short imperfect character of that great person the Duke of Ormond, who is now attainted for high treason; and, therefore, I shall not presume to offer one syllable in his vindication, upon that head, against the decision of a parliament. Yet this, I think, may be allowed me to believe, or at least to hope, that when, by the direct and repeated commands of the queen his mistress, he committed those faults, for which he has now forfeited his country, his titles, and his fortune, he no more conceived himself to be acting high treason, than he did when he was wounded and a prisoner at Landen, for his sovereign King William, or when he took and burned the enemy's fleet at Vigo.

Upon this occasion, although I am sensible it is an old precept of wisdom to admire at nothing in human life; yet I consider, at the same time, how easily some men arrive at the practice of this maxim, by the help of plain stupidity or ill nature, without any strain of philosophy: and although the uncertainty of human things be one of the most obvious reflections in morality; yet such unexpected, sudden, and signal instances of it, as have lately happened among us, are so much out of the usual form, that a wise man may perhaps be allowed to start and look aside, as at a sudden and violent clap of thunder, which is much more frequent, and more natural.

And here I cannot but lament my own particular misfortune; who, having singled out three persons from among the rest of mankind, on whose friendship and protection I might depend, whose conversation I most valued, and chiefly confined myself to, should live to see them all, within the compass of a year, accused of high treason; two of them attainted and in exile, and the third under his trial, whereof God knows what may be the issue. As my own heart was free from all treasonable thoughts, so I did little imagine myself to be perpetually in the company of traitors. But the fashion of this world passeth away. Having already said something of the Duke of Ormond, I shall add a little toward the characters of the other two. It happens to very few men, in any age or country, to come into the world with so many advantages of nature and fortune as the late Secretary Bolingbroke: descended from the best families in England, heir to a great patrimonial estate, of a sound constitution, and a most graceful, amiable person: but all these, had they been of equal value, were infinitely inferior in degree to the accomplishments of his mind, which was adorned with the choicest gifts that God has yet thought fit to bestow upon the children of men; a strong memory, a clear judgment, a vast range of wit and fancy, a thorough comprehension, an invincible eloquence, with a most agreeable elocution. He had well cultivated all these talents by travel and study; the latter of which he seldom omitted even in the midst of his pleasures, of which he had indeed been too great and criminal a pursuer: for, although he was persuaded to leave off intemperance in wine, which he did, for some time, to such a degree that he seemed rather abstemious; yet he was said to allow himself other liberties, which can by no means be reconciled to religion or morals;

whereof I have reason to believe he began to be sensible. But he was fond of mixing pleasure and business, and of being esteemed excellent at both; upon which account, he had a great respect for the characters of Alcibiades and Petronius, especially the latter, whom he would be gladly thought to resemble. His detractors charged him with some degree of affectation, and, perhaps, not altogether without grounds; since it was hardly possible for a young man, with half the business of the nation upon him, and the applause of the whole, to escape some tincture of that infirmity. He had been early bred to business, was a most artful negotiator, and perfectly understood foreign affairs. But what I have often wondered at, in a man of his temper, was his prodigious application whenever he thought it necessary; for he would plod whole days and nights, like the lowest clerk in an office. His talent of speaking in public, for which he was so very much celebrated, I know nothing of, except from the informations of others; but understanding men of both parties have assured me, that, in this point, in their memory and judgment, he was never equalled.

The Earl of Oxford is a person of as much virtue as can possibly consist with the love of power; and his love of power is no greater than what is common to men of his superior capacities; neither did any man ever appear to value it less after he had obtained it, or exert it with more moderation. He is the only instance that ever fell within my memory or observation, of a person passing from a private life, through the several stages of greatness, without any perceivable impression upon his temper or behaviour. As his own birth was illustrious, being descended from the heirs general of the Veres and the Mortimers, so he seemed to value that accidental advantage in himself and others more than it could

pretend to deserve. He abounded in good nature and good humour; although subject to passion, as I have heard it affirmed by others, and owned by himself; which, however, he kept under the strictest government, till toward the end of his ministry, when he began to grow soured, and to suspect his friends; and, perhaps, thought it not worth his pains to manage any longer. He was a great favourer of men of wit and learning, particularly the former; whom he caressed without distinction of party, and could not endure to think that any of them should be his enemies: and it was his good fortune that none of them ever appeared to be so; at least if one may judge by the libels and pamphlets published against him, which he frequently read, by way of amusement, with a most unaffected indifference: neither do I remember ever to have endangered his good opinion so much, as by appearing uneasy when the dealers in that kind of writing first began to pour out their scurrilities against me; which he thought was a weakness altogether inexcusable in a man of virtue and liberal education. He had the greatest variety of knowledge that I have anywhere met with; was a perfect master of the learned languages, and well skilled in divinity. He had a prodigious memory, and a most exact judgment. In drawing up any state-paper, no man had more proper thoughts, or put them in so strong and clear a light. Although his style were not always correct, which, however, he knew how to mend; yet often, to save time, he would leave the smaller alterations to others. I have heard that he spoke but seldom in parliament, and then rather with art than eloquence: but no man equalled him in the knowledge of our constitution; the reputation whereof made him be chosen speaker to three successive parliaments; which office, I have often

heard his enemies allow him to have executed with universal applause; his sagacity was such, that I could produce very amazing instances of it, if they were not unseasonable. In all difficulties, he immediately found the true point that was to be pursued, and adhered to it: and one or two others in the ministry have confessed very often to me, that, after having condemned his opinion, they found him in the right, and themselves in the wrong. He was utterly a stranger to fear; and consequently had a presence of mind upon all emergencies. His liberality and contempt of money were such, that he almost ruined his estate while he was in employment; yet his avarice for the public was so great, that it neither consisted with the present corruptions of the age, nor the circumstances of the time. He was seldom mistaken in his judgment of men, and therefore not apt to change a good or ill opinion by the representation of others, except toward the end of his ministry. He was affable and courteous, extremely easy and agreeable in conversation, and altogether disengaged; regular in his life, with great appearance of piety; nor ever guilty of any expressions that could possibly tend to what was indecent or profane. His imperfections were at least as obvious, although not so numerous, as his virtues. He had an air of secrecy in his manner and countenance, by no means proper for a great minister, because it warns all men to prepare against it. He often gave no answer at all, and very seldom a direct one: and I rather blame this reservedness of temper, because I have known a very different practice succeed much better: of which, among others, the late Earl of Sunderland, and the present Lord Somers, persons of great abilities, are remarkable instances; who used to talk in so frank a manner, that they seemed to discover the bottom

of their hearts, and, by that appearance of confidence, would easily unlock the breasts of others. But the Earl of Oxford pleads, in excuse of this charge, that he has seldom or never communicated anything which was of importance to be concealed, wherein he has not been deceived by the vanity, treachery, or indiscretion of those he discovered it to. Another of his imperfections, universally known and complained of, was procrastination or delay: which was, doubtless, natural to him, although he often bore the blame without the guilt, and when the remedy was not in his power; for never were prince and minister better matched than his sovereign and he upon that article: and, therefore, in the disposal of employments, wherein the queen was very absolute, a year would often pass before they could come to a determination. I remember he was likewise heavily charged with the common court vice, of promising very liberally, and seldom performing; of which, although I cannot altogether acquit him, yet I am confident his intentions were generally better than his disappointed solicitors would believe. It may be likewise said of him, that he certainly did not value, or did not understand, the art of acquiring friends; having made very few during the time of his power, and contracted a great number of enemies. Some of us used to observe, that those whom he talked well of, or suffered to be often near him, were not in a situation of much advantage; and that his mentioning others with contempt or dislike, was no hindrance at all to their preferment. I have dwelt the longer upon this great man's character, because I have observed it so often mistaken by the wise reasoners of both parties: besides, having had the honour, for almost four years, of a nearer acquaintance with him than usually happens to men of my level, and this with-

out the least mercenary obligation, I thought it lay in my power, as I am sure it is in my will, to represent him to the world with impartiality and truth.

Having often considered the qualities and dispositions of these two ministers, I am at a loss to think how it should come to pass, that men of exalted abilities, when they are called to public affairs, are generally drawn into inconveniences and misfortunes, which others, of ordinary talents, avoid; whereof there appear so many examples, both ancient and modern, and of our own, as well as other countries. I cannot think this to have been altogether the effect of envy, as it is usually imputed in the case of Themistocles, Aristides, Scipio, and others; and of Sir Walter Raleigh, the Earls of Clarendon and Strafford, here in England. But I look upon it, that God, intending the government of a nation in the several branches and subordinations of power, has made the science of governing sufficiently obvious to common capacities: otherwise the world would be left in a desolate condition, if great affairs did always require a great genius, whereof the most fruitful age will hardly produce above three or four in a nation; among which, princes, who, of all other mortals, are the worst educated, have twenty millions to one against them that they shall not be of the number; and proportionable odds, for the same reasons, are against every one of noble birth, or great estates.

Accordingly we find, that the dullest nations, ancient and modern, have not wanted good rules of policy, or persons qualified for administration. But I take the infelicity of such extraordinary men to have been caused by their neglect of common forms, together with the contempt of little helps and little hindrances; which is made, by Hobbes, the

definition of magnanimity: and this contempt, as it certainly displeases the people in general, so it gives offence to all with whom such ministers have to deal: for I never yet knew a minister, who was not earnestly desirous to have it thought, that the art of government was a most profound science; whereas, it requires no more in reality than diligence, honesty, and a moderate share of plain natural sense. And therefore men, thus qualified, may very reasonably and justly think, that the business of the world is best brought about by regularity and forms, wherein themselves excel. For I have frequently observed more causes of discontent arise, from the practice of some refined ministers, to act in common business out of the common road, than from all the usual topics of displeasure against men in power. It is the same thing in other scenes of life, and among all societies or communities: where no men are better trusted, or have more success in business, than those who, with some honesty, and a moderate portion of understanding, are strict observers of time, place, and method: and, on the contrary, nothing is more apt to expose men to the censure and obloquy of their colleagues and the public, than a contempt or neglect of these circumstances, however attended with a superior genius and an equal desire of doing good: which has made me sometimes say, to a great person of this latter character, that a small infusion of the alderman was necessary to those who are employed in public affairs. Upon this occasion I cannot forget a very trifling instance; that one day, observing the same person to divide a sheet of paper with a penknife, the sharpness of the instrument occasioned its moving so irregularly and crooked, that he spoiled the whole sheet; whereupon I advised him to take example by his clerks, who performed that operation much better

with a blunt piece of ivory, which, directed by a little strength and a steady hand, never failed to go right.

But to return from this long digression; about a fortnight after the queen's death, I came to my place of residence, where I was immediately attacked with heat enough by several of my acquaintance of both parties; and soon learned, that what they objected was the general sense of the rest. Those of the church side made me a thousand reproaches upon the slowness and inactivity of my friends, upon their foolish quarrels with each other for no visible cause, and thereby sacrificing the interests of the church and kingdom to their private piques; and that they had neglected to cultivate the favour and good opinion of the court at Hanover. But the weight of these gentlemen's displeasure fell upon the Earl of Oxford: "That he had acted a trimming part; was never thoroughly in the interest of the church, but held separate commerce with the adverse party: that, either from his negligence, procrastinating nature, or some sinister end, he had let slip many opportunities of strengthening the church's friends; that he undertook more business than he was equal to, affected a monopoly of power, and would concert nothing with the rest of the ministers." Many facts were likewise mentioned, which it may not now be very prudent to repeat: I shall only take notice of one, relating to Ireland, where he kept four bishopricks undisposed of, though often and most earnestly pressed to have them filled; by which omission, the church interest of that kingdom, in the House of Lords, is in danger of being irrecoverably lost.

Those who discoursed with me after this manner did, at the same time, utterly renounce all regard for the Pretender; and mentioned with pleasure the

glorious opportunity then in his majesty's hands, of putting an end to party distinctions for the time to come: and the only apprehension that seemed to give them any uneasiness was, lest the zeal of the party in power might not, perhaps, represent their loyalty with advantage.

On the other side, the gainers, and men in hopes by the queen's death, talked with great freedom in a very different style: they all directly asserted, "That the whole late ministry were fully determined to bring in the Pretender," although they would sometimes a little demur upon the Earl of Oxford; and by a more modern amendment, they charged the same accusation, without any reserve, upon the late queen herself. "That, if her majesty had died but a month later, our ruin would have been inevitable." But in that juncture it happened (to use their own term, which I could never prevail with them to explain) things were not ripe. "That this accusation would, in a short time, infallibly be proved as clear as the sun at noonday to all the world." And the consequences naturally following from these positions were, "That the leaders ought to lose their heads, and all their abettors be utterly stripped of power and favour."

These being the sentiments and discourses of both parties, tending to load the late ministry with faults of a very different nature; it may, perhaps, be either of some use, or satisfaction, to examine those two points; that is to say, first, how far these ministers are answerable to their friends, for their neglect, mismanagement, and mutual dissensions: and, secondly, with what justice they are accused, by their enemies, for endeavouring to alter the succession of the crown in favour of the Pretender.

It is true, indeed, I have occasionally done this already in two several treatises, of which the one is

a History,* and the other Memoirs † of particular facts, but neither of them fit to see the light at present; because they abound with characters freely drawn, and many of them not very amiable; and, therefore, intended only for the instructing of the next age, and establishing the reputation of those who have been useful to their country in the present. At the same time, I take this opportunity of assuring those who may happen some years hence to read the history I have written, that the blackest characters to be met with in it were not drawn with the least mixture of malice or ill-will, but merely to expose the odiousness of vice; for I have always held it as a maxim, that ill men are placed beyond the reach of an historian, who, indeed, has it in his power to reward virtue, but not to punish vice; because I never yet saw a profligate person, who seemed to have the least regard in what manner his name should be transmitted to posterity; and I knew a certain lord,‡ not long since dead, who, I am very confident, would not have disposed of one single shilling to have had it in his choice, whether he should be represented to future ages as an Atticus or a Catiline.

However, being firmly resolved, for very material reasons, to avoid giving the least offence to any party or person in power; I shall barely set down some facts and circumstances, during the four last years of Queen Anne's reign, which at present are little known; and whereby those of the church party, who object against the unsteadiness, neglect, and want of concert, in the late ministry, may better account for their faults. Most of those facts I can

* Of the Four Last Years of Queen Anne.
† Relating to the Change in the Queen's Ministry in 1710.
‡ Earl of Wharton.

bear witness of myself, and have received the rest from sufficient authority.

It is most certain, that when the queen first began to change her servants, it was not from a dislike of things, but of persons, and those persons were a very small number. To be more particular would be *incidere per ignes.* It was the issue of Dr. Sacheverell's trial that encouraged her to proceed so far; and several of the low church party, knowing that her displeasure went no farther than against one single family, did not appear to dislike what was done; of which I could give some extraordinary instances. But that famous trial had raised such a spirit in the nation against the parliament, that her majesty thought it necessary to dissolve them, which, I am confident, she did not at first intend. Upon this resolution, delivered by the queen in council, in a more determinate manner than was usual with her, as I was particularly informed by my Lord Somers, then president, some, who were willing to sacrifice one or two persons, would not sacrifice their cause; but immediately flew off; and the great officers of the court and kingdom began to resign their employments, which the queen suffered most of them to do with the utmost regret, and which those who knew her best thought to be real, especially Lord Somers and Lord Cowper, for whom she had as great a personal regard and esteem as her nature was capable of admitting, particularly for the former. The new parliament was called during that ferment in the nation, and a great majority of the church party was returned, without the least assistance from the court: whether to gain a reputation of impartiality, where they were secure; or, as Mr. Harley's detractors would have it, (who was then minister,) from a refinement of his politics, not to suffer, upon the account of I know not what

wise reasons, too great an inequality in the balance.

When the parliament met, they soon began to discover more zeal than the queen expected or desired. She had entertained the notion of forming a moderate or comprehensive scheme, which she maintained with great firmness, nor would ever depart from until half a year before her death: but this, neither the House of Commons, nor the kingdom in general, were then at all inclined to admit, whatever they may have been in any juncture since; several country-members, to almost a third part of the house, began immediately to form themselves into a body, under a fantastic name of the October Club. These daily pressed the ministry for a thorough change in employments, and were not put off without jealousy and discontent. I remember it was then commonly understood and expected, that when the session ended, a general removal would be made: but it happened otherwise; for not only few or none were turned out, but much deliberation was used in supplying common vacancies by death. This manner of proceeding in a prime minister, I confess, appeared to me wholly unaccountable, and without example; and I was little satisfied with the solution I had heard, and partly knew, "That he acted thus to keep men at his devotion, by letting expectation lie in common;" for I found the effect did not answer, and that, in the meantime, he led so uneasy a life, by solicitations and pursuits, as no man would endure who had a remedy at hand. About the beginning of his ministry, I did, at the request of several considerable persons, take the liberty of representing this matter to him. His answer was short and cold: "That he hoped his friends would trust him; that he heartily wished none but those who loved the church and queen

were employed; but that all things could not be done on a sudden." I have reason to believe, that his nearest acquaintance were then wholly at a loss what to think of his conduct. He was forced to preserve the opinion of power, without which he could not act, while in reality he had little or none; and besides, he thought it became him to take the burden of reproach upon himself, rather than lay it upon the queen his mistress, who was grown very positive, slow, and suspicious; and from the opinion of having been formerly too much directed, fell into the other extreme, and became difficult to be advised. So that few ministers had ever, perhaps, a harder game to play, between the jealousy and discontents of his friends on one side, and the management of the queen's temper on the other.

There could hardly be a firmer friendship, in appearance, than what I observed between those three great men, who were then chiefly trusted; I mean the Lords Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Harcourt. I remember, in the infancy of their power, being at the table of the first, where they were all met, I could not forbear taking notice of the great affection they bore to each other; and said, "I would venture to prophesy, that, however inconstant our court had hitherto been, their ministry would certainly last; for they had the church, the crown, and the people, entirely on their side: then it happened, that the public good, and their private interest, had the same bottom, which is a piece of good fortune that does not always fall to the share of men in power. But principally, because I observed they heartily loved one another; and I did not see how their kindness could be disturbed by competition, since each of them seemed contented with his own district; so that, notwithstanding the old maxim, which pronounces court friendships to be of no long duration,

I was confident theirs would last as long as their lives." But, it seems, the inventor of that maxim happened to be a little wiser than I, who lived to see this friendship first degenerate into indifference and suspicion, and thence corrupt into the greatest animosity and hatred; contrary to all appearances, and much to the discredit of me and my sagacity. By what degrees, and from what causes, their dissensions grew, I shall, as far as it may be safe and convenient, very impartially relate.

When Mr. Harley was stabbed by Guiscard, the writer of a weekly paper called the Examiner, taking occasion to reflect on that accident, happened to let fall an idle circumstance, I know not upon what grounds, "That the French assassin confessed, he at first intended to have murdered Mr. Secretary St. John; who, sitting at too great a distance, he was forced to vent his rage on the other." Whether the secretary had been thus informed, or was content that others should believe it, I never yet could learn; but nothing could be more unfortunate than the tendency of such a report, which, by a very unfair decision, derived the whole merit of that accident to Mr. St. John, and left Mr. Harley nothing but the danger and the pain: of both which, although he had a sufficient share, (his physicians being often under apprehensions for his life,) yet I am confident the time of his illness was a period of more quiet and ease than he ever enjoyed during the rest of his administration. This report was not unresented by Mr. Harley's friends; and the rather, because the fact was directly otherwise, as it soon appeared by Guiscard's confession.*

While that minister lay ill of his wound, and his

* Swift's memory has failed him in this instance. The confession of Guiscard bore, that his original design had been against St. John, not, certainly, because he esteemed him a greater enemy

life in question, the weight of business fell, in some measure, upon the secretary, who was not without ambition; which, I confess, I have seldom found among the wants of great men; and it was conceived that he had already entertained the thoughts of being at the head of affairs, in case Mr. Harley should die; although, at the same time, I must do justice to Mr. St. John, by repeating what he said to me, with great appearance of concern, (and he was but an ill dissembler,) "That if Mr. Harley's accident should prove fatal, it would be an irreparable loss: That, as things then stood, his life was absolutely necessary: That, as to himself, he was not master of the scheme by which they were to proceed, nor had credit enough with the queen; neither did he see how it would be possible for them, in such a case, to wade through the difficulties they were then under." However, not to be over particular in so nice a point, thus much is certain, that some things happened during Mr. Harley's confinement, which bred a coldness and jealousy between those two great men; and these, increasing by many subsequent accidents, could never be removed.

Upon Mr. Harley's recovery, which was soon followed by his promotion to an earldom, and the treasurer's staff, he was earnestly pressed to go on with the change of employments, for which his friends and the kingdom were very impatient; wherein, I am confident, he was not unwilling to comply, if a new incident had not put farther difficulties in his way. The queen having thought fit to take the key from the Duchess of Marlborough, it was, after some time, given to another great

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to France than Harley, but because, having been a companion of his pleasures, he had expected St. John's interposition in his favour, and resented the disappointment.

lady,* wholly in the interest of the opposite party; who, by a most obsequious behaviour, of which she is a perfect mistress, and the privileges of her place, which gave her continual access, quickly won so far upon the affections of her majesty, that she had more personal credit than all the queen's servants put together. Of this lady's character and story, having spoken so much in other papers, which may one day see the light, I shall only observe, that as soon as she was fixed in her station, the queen, following the course of her own nature, grew daily much more difficult and uncomplying. Some weak endeavours were indeed used to divert her majesty from this choice: but she continued steady, and pleaded, "That, if she might not have liberty to choose her own servants, she could not see what advantage she had gotten by the change of her ministry:" and so little was her heart set upon what they call a High Church or Tory administration, that several employments in court and country, and a great majority in all commissions, remained in the hands of those who most opposed the present proceedings; nor do I remember that any removal of consequence was made till the winter following, when the Earl of Nottingham was pleased to prepare and offer a vote in the House of Lords, against any peace while Spain continued in the hands of the Bourbon family. Of this vote the ministers had early notice; and, by casting up the numbers, concluded they should have a majority of ten to overthrow it. The queen was desired, and promised, to speak to a certain lord, who was looked upon as dubious. That lord attended accordingly; but heard not a word of the matter from her majesty, although she afterward owned it was not for want of remem-

* Mrs. Masham.

bering, but from perfect indifference. The treasurer, who trusted to promises, and reckoned that others would trust to his, was, by a most unseasonable piece of parsimony, grossly deceived; and the vote carried against the court. The queen had the curiosity to be present at the debate; and appeared so little displeased at the event, or against those from whom she might have expected more compliance, that a person in high station among her domestics, who, that day in her presence, had shown his utmost eloquence (such as it was) against the ministers, received a particular mark * of distinction and favour, which, by his post, he could not pretend to; and was not removed from her service but with exceeding difficulty, many months after. And it is certain that this vote could not have been carried, if some persons very near her majesty had not given assurances, where they were proper, that it would be acceptable to the queen; which her behaviour seemed to confirm.

But, when the consequences of this vote were calmly represented to her: "That the limitation specified therein had wholly tied up her hands, in case the recovery of Spain should be found impossible, as it was frequently allowed and owned by many principal leaders of the opposite party, and had hitherto been vainly endeavoured either by treaty or war: That the kingdom was not in a condition to bear any longer its burden and charge, especially with annual additions: That other expedients might possibly be

* "Yesterday, when the queen was going from the house, where she sat to hear the debate, the Duke of Shrewsbury, lord chamberlain, asked her whether he or the great chamberlain, Lindsay, ought to lead her out? she answered short, Neither of you, and gave her hand to the Duke of Somerset, who was louder than any in the house for the clause against peace."—*Journal to Stella*, Vol. II. p. 424.

found, for preventing France and Spain from being united under the same king, according to the intent and letter of the grand alliance: That the design of this vote was, to put her majesty under the necessity of dissolving the parliament, beginning all things anew, and placing the administration in the hands of those whom she had thought fit to lay aside; and this, by sacrificing her present servants to the rage and vengeance of the former;" with many other obvious considerations, not very proper at this time to be repeated: Her majesty, who was earnestly bent upon giving peace to her people, consented to fall upon the sole expedient that her own coldness, or the treasurer's thrift, and want or contempt of artifice, had left her; which was, to create a number of peers, sufficient to turn the balance in the House of Lords. I confess, that, in my history of those times, where this matter, among others, is treated with a great deal more liberty, and consequently very unfit for present perusal, I have refined so far as to conjecture, that if this were the treasurer's counsel, he might possibly have given it upon some farther views, than that of avoiding the consequences of my Lord Nottingham's vote. And what those were, I suppose, I may offer without offence. It is known enough, that, from the time of the Revolution, to the period I am now speaking of, the favour of the court was almost perpetually turned toward those who, in the party term, are called Whigs, or the Low Church; and this was a space of above twenty years, wherein great additions were made to the peerage; and the bishops' bench almost wholly renewed. But, the majority of landed men still retaining the old church principles in religion and government, notwithstanding all endeavours to convert them, the late king was under many insuperable difficulties during the course of his reign;

elections seldom succeeding so well as to leave the court side, without strenuous opposition, sufficient to carry many points against him, which he had much at heart. Upon the late queen's succeeding to the crown, the church party, who seemed to have grown more numerous under all discouragements, began to conceive hopes that her majesty, who had always professed to favour their principles, would make use of their service. And, indeed, upon that foot things stood for some time: but, a new war being resolved on, three persons,* who had most credit with her majesty, and who were then looked upon to be at least as high principled as could possibly consist with the Protestant succession, having consulted their friends, began to conceive that the military spirit was much more vigorous in the other party, who appeared more keen against France, more sanguine upon the power and wealth of England, and better versed in the arts of finding out funds, to which they had been so long used. There were some other motives for this transition of the ministers at that time, which are more proper for the history above mentioned, where they are faithfully recorded. But thus the queen was brought to govern by what they call a low church ministry, which continued for several years; till, at length, grown weary of the war, although carried on with great glory and success, and the nation rising into a flame (whether justly or not) upon the trial of Dr. Sacheverell, which, in effect, was a general muster of both parties; her majesty, following her own inclinations, and those of her people, resolved to make some changes in the ministry, and take Mr. Harley into her councils. This was brought about, as the charge against that

* The Duke of Marlborough, with the Earls of Godolphin and Sunderland.

minister says, by the basest insinuations; upon which, being a determination of parliament, I shall not dispute; although I confess to have received a very different account of that matter from a most excellent lady, upon whose veracity I entirely depend; and who, being then in chief confidence with her mistress, must needs know a particular fact, wherein she was immediately concerned and trusted, better than any one man, or number of men, except the majority of a House of Commons.*

When the new parliament met, whose elections were left entirely to the people, without the least influence from the court, it plainly appeared how far the church party in the nation out-numbered the other, and especially in the several counties. But, in the House of Lords, even after some management, there was but a weak and crazy majority: nor even could this have been expected, if several great lords, who were always reputed of the other party, had not only complied, but been highly instrumental in the change; as the Dukes of Shrewsbury and Argyle, the Earls of Peterborough, Rivers, and some others, who certainly came into the queen's measures upon other motives than that of party.† Now, since the government of England cannot go on while the two Houses of Parliament are in opposition to each other; and that the people, whenever they acted freely, would infallibly return a majority of church men;

* There can be no doubt that Mrs. Masham, the person here meant, was the conductress of the whole intrigue—but her evidence upon its purity is not quite beyond question.

† The Duke of Shrewsbury seems to have been animated with personal resentment against Lord Godolphin, who keenly opposed his being made lord chamberlain. The Duke of Argyle, and Earl of Peterborough, were both keen Whigs, yet acted with vigour against their own party, animated chiefly by professional jealousy of the Duke of Marlborough's military renown and high command.

one of these two things was of necessity to be done: either, first, to dissolve that parliament, and call another of the Whig stamp, by force of a prodigious expence, which would be neither decent nor safe, and, perhaps, at that time, hardly feasible; or else, to turn the balance in the House of Lords; which, after the success of Lord Nottingham's vote, was not otherwise to be done, than by creating a sufficient number of peers, in order at once to make the queen and her people easy upon that article, for the rest of her reign. And this I should be willing to think was the treasurer's meaning, when he advised those advancements; which, however, I confess, I did very much dislike.

But if, after all I have said, my conjecture should happen to be wrong, yet I do not see how the treasurer can justly be blamed, for preserving his cause, his friends, and himself, from unavoidable ruin, by an expedient allowed on all hands to be lawful. Perhaps he was brought under that necessity by the want of proper management: but, when that necessity appeared, he could not act otherwise, without unravelling whatever had been done; which, in the language of those times, would have been called delivering the queen and kingdom back into the hands of a faction they had so lately got rid of. And I believe no minister of any party would in his circumstances, have scrupled to take the same step, when the *summa rerum* was at stake.

Although the queen was brought into this measure by no other motive than her earnest desire of a peace, yet the treasurer's friends began to press him anew for farther changes in employments; concluding, from what was past, that his credit was great enough to compass whatever he pleased. But this proved to be ill reasoning; for the queen had no dislike at all to the other party, (whatever personal

piques she might bear to some among them,) farther than as she conceived they were bent upon continuing the war; to which her majesty resolved to put as speedy an end as she could with honour and safety to her kingdoms, and therefore fell, with readiness enough, into the methods proposed to her for advancing that great work. But in dispensing her favours, she was extremely cautious and slow; and after the usual mistake of those who think they have been often imposed on, became so very suspicious, that she overshot the mark, and erred in the other extreme. When a person happened to be recommended as useful for her service, or proper to be obliged, perhaps, after a long delay, she would consent; but, if the treasurer offered, at the same time, a warrant or other instrument to her, already prepared in order to be signed, because he presumed to reckon upon her consent beforehand, she would not; and thus the affair would sometimes lie for several months together, although the thing were ever so reasonable, or even although the public suffered by the delay. So that this minister had no other remedy but to let her majesty take her own time, which never failed to be the very longest that the nature of the thing could suffer her to defer it.

When this promotion was made, Mr. Secretary St. John, whose merits and pretensions, as things then stood, were far superior to any, was purposely left out, because the court had need of his great abilities, the following session, in the House of Commons; and the peace being then upon the anvil, he was best able to explain and justify the several steps toward it; which he accordingly did, with invincible reason and universal applause. When the session was over, the queen thought fit to give him a title; and that he might not lose his rank, created him viscount. There had been an earldom in his name and family lately

extinct, though a barony fell to a collateral branch in the person of an infant; and the secretary, being of the same house, expected and desired the same degree. For he reasoned, "that making him a viscount would be but rigorous justice; and he hoped he might pretend to some mark of favour." But the queen could not be prevailed with; because, to say the truth, he was not much at that time in her good graces; some women about the court having infused an opinion into her, that he was not so regular in his life as he ought to be. The secretary laid the whole blame of this disappointment upon the Earl of Oxford; and freely told me, that he would never depend upon the earl's friendship as long as he lived, nor have any farther commerce with him, than what was necessary for carrying on the public service. And although I have good reason to be assured that the treasurer was wholly innocent in this point, as both himself and Lady Masham then protested to me; yet my Lord Bolingbroke thought the appearances were so strong, that I was never able to bring him over to my opinion.

The divisions between these two great men began to split the court into parties. Harcourt, Lord Chancellor, the Dukes of Shrewsbury and Argyll, Sir William Wyndham, and one or two more, adhered to the secretary; the rest were either neuters, or inclined to the treasurer, whether from policy or gratitude; although they all agreed to blame and lament his mysterious and procrastinating manner in acting, which the state of affairs at that time could very ill admit, and must have rendered the Earl of Oxford inexcusable, if the queen's obstinate temper had not put him under the necessity of exerting those talents, wherewith, it must be confessed, his nature was already too well provided.

This minister had stronger passions than the secre-

tary, but kept them under stricter government. My Lord Bolingbroke was of a nature frank and open; and as men of great genius are superior to common rules, he seldom gave himself the trouble of disguising or subduing his resentments, although he was ready enough to forget them. In matters of state, as the earl was too reserved, so, perhaps, the other was too free; not from any incontinency of talk, but from the mere contempt of multiplying secrets; although the graver counsellors imputed this liberty of speech to vanity or lightness. And, upon the whole, no two men could differ more, in their diversions, their studies, their ways of transacting business, their choice of company, or manner of conversation.

The queen, who was well informed of these animosities among her servants, of which her own dubious management had been the original cause, began to find and lament the ill consequences of them in her affairs, both at home and abroad; and to lay the blame upon her treasurer, whose greatest fault, in his whole ministry, was too much compliance with his mistress, by which his measures were often disconcerted and himself brought under suspicion by his friends.

I am very confident that this alteration in the queen's temper toward the Earl of Oxford could never have appeared, if he had not thought fit to make one step in politics which I have not been able to apprehend. When the queen first thought of making a change among her servants, after Dr. Sacheverell's trial, my Lady Masham was very much heard and trusted upon that point; and it was by her intervention Mr. Harley was admitted into her majesty's presence. That lady was then in high favour with her mistress; which I believe the earl was not so very sedulous to cultivate or preserve as if he had it much at heart, nor was altogether sorry when he saw

it under some degree of declination. The reasons for this must be drawn from the common nature of mankind, and the incompatibility of power: but the juncture was not favourable for such a refinement; because it was early known to all who had but looked into the court, that this lady must have a successor, who, upon pique and principle, would do all in her power to obstruct his proceedings. My Lady Masham was a person of a plain sound understanding, of great truth and sincerity, without the least mixture of falsehood or disguise; of an honest boldness and courage, superior to her sex; firm and disinterested in her friendship; and full of love, duty, and veneration for the queen her mistress; talents as seldom found or sought for in a court, as unlikely to thrive while they are there; so that nothing could then be more unfortunate to the public, than a coldness between this lady and the first minister; nor a greater mistake in the latter, than to suffer, or connive at, the lessening of her credit, which he quickly saw removed very disadvantageously to another object;* and wanted the effects of, when his own was sunk, in the only domestic affair for which I ever knew him under any concern.

While the queen's favour to the earl was thus gradually lessening, the breaches between him and his friends grew every day wider; which he looked upon with great indifference, and seemed to have his thoughts only turned upon finding out some proper opportunity for delivering up his staff; but this her majesty would not then admit; because, indeed, it was not easy to determine who should succeed him.†

In the midst of these dispositions at court, the

* The Duchess of Somerset.

† An apology for the conduct of the Earl of Oxford thus states his behaviour on this occasion:

"The said faction having thus an uninterrupted freedom of

queen fell dangerously sick at Windsor, about Christmas 1713. It was confidently reported in town that she was dead; and the heads of the expecting party were said to have various meetings thereupon, and a great hurrying of chairs and coaches to and from the Earl of Wharton's house. Whether this were true or not, yet thus much is certain, that the expressions of joy appeared very frequent and loud among many of that party; which proceeding, men of form did not allow to be altogether decent. A messenger was immediately dispatched, with an account of the queen's illness, to the treasurer; who was then in town, and in order to stop the report of her death, appeared next day abroad in his chariot with a pair of horses, and did not go down to Windsor till his usual time. Upon his arrival there, the danger was over, but not the fright, which still sat on everybody's face; and the account given of the confusion and distraction the whole court had been under is hardly to be conceived; upon which the treasurer said to me, "Whenever anything ails the queen these people are out of their wits; and yet they are so thoughtless, that, as soon as she is well, they act as if she were immortal." I had sufficient reason, both before and since, to allow his observation to be true, and that some share of it might with justice be applied to himself.

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acting, it was no hard matter to carry on their scheme, and, as they improved the occasion with the greatest diligence, it was not long before they found means to let the staff know, that it would be taken kindly if he was to resign. But the staff resolving to put them upon more openly discovering themselves, waited as though he had not understood those hints, continued to execute the duty of his place with all the tranquillity and composure of mind, as if he had not the least notion of being removed, and thereby obliged them to go nearer the forcible point than they designed to do."—*History of the White-Staff*, p. 35.

The queen had early notice of this behaviour among the discontented leaders during her illness. It was indeed an affair of such a nature as required no aggravation; which, however, would not have been wanting; the women of both parties who then attended her majesty being well disposed to represent it in the strongest light. The result was, that the queen immediately laid aside all her schemes and visions of reconciling the two opposite interests; and entered upon a firm resolution of adhering to the old English principles, from an opinion that the adverse party waited impatiently for her death, upon views little consisting (as the language and opinion went then) with the safety of the constitution, either in church or state. She therefore determined to fall into all just and proper methods that her ministers should advise her to, for the preservation and continuance of both. This I was quickly assured of, not only by the lord chancellor and Lord Bolingbroke, but by the treasurer himself.

I confess myself to have been then thoroughly persuaded that this incident would perfectly reconcile the ministers, by uniting them in pursuing one general interest; and considering no farther than what was fittest to be done, I could not easily foresee any objections or difficulties that the Earl of Oxford would make. I had, for some time, endeavoured to cultivate the strictest friendship between him and the general,* by telling both of them (which happened to be the truth) how kindly they spoke of each other; and by convincing the latter of what advantage such a union must be to her majesty's service. There was an affair upon which all our friends laid a more than ordinary weight. Among the horse and foot guards appointed to

* The Duke of Ormond.

attend on the queen's person, several officers took every occasion, with great freedom and bitterness of speech, to revile the ministry, upon the subject of the peace and the Pretender, not without many gross expressions against the queen herself; such as, I suppose, will hardly be thought on or attempted, but certainly not suffered, under the present powers; which proceeding, beside the indignity, begot an opinion, that her majesty's person might be better guarded than by such keepers, who, after attending at court, or at the levee of the general or first minister, adjourned, to publish their disaffection in coffeehouses and gaming ordinaries, without any regard to decency or truth. It was proposed, that ten or a dozen of the least discreet among these gentlemen should be obliged to sell their posts in the guards; and that two or three, who had gone the greatest lengths, should have a price fixed for their commissions, somewhat below the exorbitant rate usually demanded for a few years past. The Duke of Ormond desired but ten thousand pounds to make the matter easy to those officers who were to succeed; which sum, his grace told me, the treasurer had given him encouragement to expect, although he pleaded present want of money; and I cannot but say, that having often, at the duke's desire, pressed this minister to advance the money, he gave me such answers as made me think he really intended it. But I was quickly undeceived; for, expostulating some days after with him upon the same subject, after great expressions of esteem and friendship for the Duke of Ormond, and mentioning some ill treatment he had received from his friends, he said, "He knew not why he should do other people's work." The truth is, that, except the duke, my Lord Trevor, and Mr. Secretary Bromley, I could not find he had one friend left, of

any consequence, in her majesty's service. The lord chancellor,* Lord Bolingbroke, and Lady Masham, openly declared against him; to whom were joined the Bishop of Rochester† and some others. Dartmouth, then privy-seal, and Poulett, lord steward, stood neuters. The Duke of Shrewsbury hated the treasurer; but sacrificed all resentments to ease, profit, and power; and was then in Ireland, acting a part directly opposite to the court, which he had sagacity enough to foresee might quickly turn to account; so that the Earl of Oxford stood almost single, and every day found a visible declension of the queen's favour toward him; which he took but little care to redress, desiring nothing so much as leave to deliver up his staff; which, however, as conjunctures then stood, he was not able to obtain; his adversaries not having determined where to place it; neither was it, upon several accounts, a work so proper to be done while the parliament sat, where the ministry had already lost too much reputation, and especially in the House of Lords. By what I could gather from several discourses with the treasurer, it was not very difficult to find out how he reasoned with himself. The church party continued violently bent to have some necessary removals made in the guards, as well as a farther change in the civil employments through the kingdom. All the great officers about the court, or in her majesty's service, except the Duke of Shrewsbury, and one or two more, were in the same opinion. The queen herself, since her last illness at Windsor, had the like dispositions; and I think it may appear, from several passages already mentioned, that the blame of those delays, so often complained of, did not originally lie at the Earl of Oxford's door. But the

* Lord Harcourt. † Dr. Atterbury.

state of things was very much changed by several incidents. The chancellor, Lord Bolingbroke, and Lady Masham, had entirely forsaken him, upon suspicions I have mentioned before; which, although they were founded on mistake, yet he never would be at the pains to clear. And, as he first lessened his confidence with the queen, by pressing her upon those very points, for which his friends accused him that they were not performed; so, upon her change of sentiments after her recovery, he lost all favour and credit with her, for not seconding those new resolutions, from which she had formerly been so averse. Besides, he knew, as well as all others who were near the court, that it was hardly possible the queen could survive many months; in which case, he must of necessity bring upon him the odium and vengeance of the successor, and of that party which must then be predominant, who would quickly unravel all he had done; or, if her majesty should hold out longer than it was reasonable to expect; yet, after having done a work that must procure him many new enemies, he could expect nothing but to be discharged in displeasure. Upon these reasons, he continued his excuses to the Duke of Ormond for not advancing the money; and during the six last months of his ministry, would enter into no affairs but what immediately concerned the business of his office. That whole period was nothing else but a scene of murmuring and discontent, quarrel and misunderstanding, animosity and hatred, between him and his former friends. In the meantime, the queen's countenance was wholly changed toward him; she complained of his silence and sullenness; and in return, gave him every day fresh instances of neglect or displeasure.*

* The apology for the lord treasurer, already quoted, thus states the machinations of Bolingbroke's cabal against him:

The original of this quarrel among the ministers, which had been attended with so many ill consequences, began first between the treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke, from the causes and incidents I have already mentioned; and might very probably have been prevented, if the treasurer had dealt with less reserve, or the Lord Bolingbroke had put that confidence in him, which so sincere a friend might reasonably have expected. Neither, perhaps, would a reconcilement have been an affair of much difficulty, if their friends, on both sides, had not too much observed the common prudential forms of not caring to intermeddle; which, together with the addition of a shrug, was the constant answer I received from most of them, whenever I pressed them upon the subject. I cannot tell whether my Lord Trevor may be excepted, because I had little acquaintance with him, although I am inclined to the negative.

"To return therefore to our history, we found that the staff, having left these men to act upon their own imaginary schemes, and they having now, as it were, the full liberty they desired, they failed not to make use of it, with the greatest assurance imaginable; pursuing their first design to supplant him effectually in his interest with the queen: to this purpose they procured several things to be demanded of him in the execution of his office, which, as staff, they knew he could not comply with, and which they were satisfied he would excuse himself from doing; to which excuses it lay on them to give the most malicious construction that they were able, and which, by the artifices of some females, who had too many obligations to the staff, to make such management very honourable, they found means to do. Nor, perhaps, would those very people have been the last to have charged him with misapplications, if he had complied with their demands, or if he had failed, with plainness and resolution to represent the necessity he was under to refuse that obedience, which, in other cases, he was ready to give without any reserve to the orders and commands of his sovereign.

"There was nothing so malicious and unjust, as the insinuations which the agents of this faction made upon the occasion aforesaid; not failing to represent everything as much to the disadvantage of the staff as it was possible; suggesting, that he

Mr. Prior, who was much loved and esteemed by them both, as he well deserved, upon account of every virtue that can qualify a man for private conversation, might have been the properest person for such a work, if he could have thought it to consist with the prudence of a courtier; but, however, he was absent in France at those junctures when it was chiefly necessary. And to say the truth, most persons had so avowedly declared themselves on one side or the other, that these two great men had hardly a common friend left, except myself. I had ever been treated with great kindness by them both; and I conceived, that what I wanted in weight and credit, might be made up with sincerity and freedom. The former they never doubted, and the latter they had constant experience of: I had managed between them for almost two years; and their candour was so great, that they had not the

exercised his power with the same, or a greater arbitrary haughtiness, than that which he had alleged upon his predecessor: that, while he pretended the preserving liberty, he acted with unsufferable tyranny: that, not content to exercise this temper towards the subject, he now began to oppose himself to the queen also; to dispute her majesty's commands, and to obstruct her favours, if he found them directed to persons who he thought fit to pique in private matters: that, in public affairs, he carried on an interest with the house of Hanover, dishonourable to, because without the knowledge of, her majesty: that he sought to establish himself in the good graces of the successor, at her majesty's expence, and at the expence of the honour of the throne, and the like.

"While these things were believed, it is not to be wondered at, if some dissatisfactions began to take place, to the prejudice of the interest of the white-staff, which, albeit he was not insensible of, yet he too plainly saw that they were not easily to be removed, unless he submitted to a faction, who, he was satisfied, were embarked in a premeditated design to destroy and betray their sovereign; wherefore he resolved to reserve himself, as before, for better times, and to wait an occasion when he might open her majesty's eyes to the design that was in hand, and detect the schemes of these men, not to her majesty only, but to the whole nation."—*Secret History of the White-Staff.* Lond. 1714, p. 33.

least jealousy or suspicion of me. And I thought I had done wonders, when, upon the queen's being last at Windsor, I put them in a coach to go thither by appointment, without other company, where they would have four hours' time to come to a good understanding; but, in two days after, I learned from them both that nothing was done.

There had been three bishopricks for some time vacant in Ireland; and I had prevailed on the Earl of Oxford that one of them should be divided. Accordingly, four divines of that kingdom were named to the queen, and approved by her; but upon some difficulties, not worth mentioning, the queen's mandatory letters to Ireland had been delayed. I pressed the treasurer every week while her majesty was at Windsor, and every day after her return, to finish this affair, as a point of great consequence to the church in that kingdom; and growing at length impatient of so many excuses, I fell into some passion: when his lordship freely told me, "That he had been earnest with the queen upon that matter, about ten times the last fortnight, but without effect; and that he found his credit wholly at an end." This happened about eleven weeks before the queen died; and two nights after, sitting with him and Lord Bolingbroke, in Lady Masham's lodgings, at St. James's, for some hours, I told the treasurer, "That, having despaired of any reconciliation between them, I had only staid some time longer to forward the disposal of those bishopricks in Ireland; which, since his lordship told me was out of his power, I now resolved to retire immediately, as from an evil I could neither help to redress, nor endure the sight of: That, before I left them, I desired they would answer me two questions; first, whether these mischiefs might not be remedied in two minutes? and secondly, whether,

upon the present foot, the ministry would not be infallibly ruined in two months?" Lord Bolingbroke answered to each question in the affirmative, and approved of my resolution to retire; but the treasurer, after his manner, evaded both, and only desired me to dine with him next day. However, I immediately went down to a friend in Berkshire, to await the issue, which ended in the removal of my lord treasurer, and, three days after, in her majesty's death.

Thus I have, with some pains, recollected several passages, which I thought were most material for the satisfaction of those who appear so much at a loss upon the unaccountable quarrels of the late ministry. For, indeed, it looked like a riddle, to see persons of great and undisputed abilities, called by the queen to her service in the place of others, with whose proceedings she was disgusted, and with great satisfaction to the clergy, the landed interest, and body of the people, running on a sudden into such a common beaten court track of ruin, by divisions among themselves; not only without a visible cause, but with the strongest appearances to the contrary, and without any refuge to the usual excuse, of evil instruments, or cunning adversaries, to blow the coals of dissension; for the work was entirely their own.

I impute the cause of these misfortunes to the queen; who, from the variety of hands she had employed, and reasonings she had heard, since her coming to the crown, was grown very fond of moderating schemes; which, as things then stood, were by no means reducible to practice. She had likewise a good share of that adherence to her own opinions, which is usually charged upon her sex. And lastly, (as I have before observed,) having received some hints that she had formerly been

too much governed, she grew very difficult to be advised.

The next in fault was the treasurer; who, not being able to influence the queen in many points, with relation to party, which his friends and the kingdom seemed to have much at heart, would needs take all the blame on himself, from a known principle of state prudence, "That a first minister must always preserve the reputation of power." But I have ever thought, that there are few maxims in politics, which, at some conjunctures, may not be very liable to an exception. The queen was by no means inclined to make many changes in employments; she was positive in her nature, and extremely given to delay. And surely these were no proper qualities for a chief minister to personate toward his nearest friends, who were brought into employment upon very different views and promises. Nor could any reputation of power be worth preserving, at the expence of bringing sincerity into question. I remember, upon a Saturday, when the ministers, and one or two friends of the treasurer, constantly met to dine at his house, one of the company attacked him very warmly, on account that a certain lord, who perpetually opposed the queen's measures, was not dismissed from a great employment,* which, beside other advantages, gave that lord the power of choosing several members of parliament. The treasurer evaded the matter with his usual answer, "That this was whipping day." † Upon which, the Secretary Bolingbroke, turning to me, said, "It was a strange thing that my Lord Oxford would not be so kind to his friends, and so just to his own innocence, as to vindicate himself

* The Duke of Somerset, who was master of the horse.

† This jocular phrase referred to the friendly censures which Swift often applied to his tardiness and mystery.

where he had no blame; for, to his knowledge and the chancellor's, (who was then also present,) the treasurer had frequently and earnestly moved the queen upon that very point, without effect." Whereupon this minister, finding himself pressed so far, told the company, "That he had at last prevailed with her majesty; and the thing would be done in two days:" which followed accordingly. I mention this fact as an instance of the Earl of Oxford's disposition to preserve some reputation of power in himself, and remove all blame from the queen; and this, to my particular knowledge, was a frequent case; but how far justifiable in point of prudence, I have already given my opinion. However, the treasurer's friends were yet much more to blame than himself: he had abundance of merit with them all; not only upon account of the public, the whole change of the ministry having been effected, without any intervention of theirs, by him and Lady Masham; but likewise from the consequence of that change, whereby the greatest employments of the kingdom were divided among them; and, therefore, in common justice, as well as prudence, they ought to have been more indulgent to his real failings, rather than suspect him of imaginary ones, as they often did, through ignorance, refinement, or mistake: and I mention it to the honour of the Secretary Bolingbroke, as well as of the treasurer, that having myself, upon many occasions, joined with the former in quarrelling with the earl's conduct upon certain points, the secretary would, in a little time after, frankly own that he was altogether mistaken.

Lastly, I cannot excuse the remissness of those whose business it should have been, as it certainly was their interest, to have interposed their good offices for healing this unhappy breach among the ministers: but of this I have already spoken.

CHAPTER II.

WRITTEN ABOUT A YEAR AFTER.

HAVING proceeded thus far, I thought it would be unnecessary to say anything upon the other head relating to the design of bringing in the Pretender: for, upon the Earl of Oxford's impeachment, the gentlemen of the prevailing side assured me, "That the whole mystery would be soon laid open to the world;" and were ready to place the merit of their cause upon that issue. This discovery we all expected from the report of the secret committee: * but, when that treatise appeared, (whoever were the compilers,) we found it to be rather the work of a luxuriant fancy, an absolute state pamphlet, arguing for a cause, than a dry recital of facts, or a transcript of letters; and for what related to the Pretender, the authors contented themselves with informing the public, that the whole intrigue was privately carried on, in personal treaties between the Earl of Oxford and the Abbé Gualtier; which must needs be a doctrine hard of digestion to those who have the least knowledge either of the earl or the abbé, or upon what foot the latter stood at that time with the English ministry: I conceive, that whoever is at distance enough to be out of fear either of a vote or a messenger, will be as easily brought to believe all the popish legends together. And to make

* The Report of the Secret Committee related entirely to the peace of Utrecht, and the negotiations with France which preceded that treaty; and Oxford and Bolingbroke were declared by the House of Commons guilty of high treason, for their share in these measures. But no evidence was offered, nor was there any direct charge made of their design to alter the succession.

such an assertion, in a public report, delivered to the House of Commons, without the least attempt to prove it, will, some time or other, be reckoned such a strain upon truth and probability, as is hard to be equalled in a Spanish romance. I think it will be allowed, that the articles of high treason drawn up against the earl were not altogether founded upon the report; or, at least, that those important hints about bringing in the Pretender were more proper materials to furnish out a pamphlet than an impeachment; since this accusation has no part even among the high crimes and misdemeanors.

But, notwithstanding all this, and that the Earl of Oxford, after two years' residence in the Tower, was at length dismissed without any trial; yet the reproach still went on, that the queen's last ministry, in concert with their mistress, were deeply engaged in a design to set the Pretender upon the throne.*

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* Toland, the Deist, roundly charged the Earl of Oxford with a plan of bringing in the Pretender, and adduced the following grounds of accusation among many others:

"Written and printed characters of the Pretender are sent over to certain trusty agents, whose sole business is to show and disperse them. I shall not insist on his pictures and prints innumerable, but only observe, that the very same method was used before the last restoration. The most noted champions of Sir Roger, in coffeehouses and other places of public resort, are Irish Papists and Scottish Jacobites; who, when they perceive their encomiums, and much more their apologies, to become matter of laughter and contempt to the company, are ready to revenge themselves in the quality of bullies and informers. Good God! that we should live to see this vermin once more infest our streets and palaces! nor surely could we live, but in the hopes of seeing them likewise once more sent a packing out of the world or the kingdom. English pensioners do ordinarily content themselves with their pay for doing their drudgery. You may infallibly distinguish this tribe by their perpetual invectives against foreigners, by which, all the while, they only mean the Dutch and the Germans; these, on account of the Hanover succession, those for the sake of King William, whose memory they incessantly

The cultivating of which accusation, I impute to the great goodness of those in power, who are so gracious to assign a reason, or at least give a countenance, for that sudden and universal sweep they thought fit to make on their first appearance: whereas they might as well have spared that ceremony, by a short recourse to the royal prerogative, which gives every prince a liberty of choosing what servants he will.

There are two points which I believe myself able to make out. First, that neither the late queen, nor her ministers, did ever entertain a design of

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curse. The windows of the best Protestants, (for you'll always remember, that we have agreed to talk without reserve of religion, as it makes a part of our several constitutions, and without which, considering its influence in that respect, we could never have right information,) our windows, I say, are broke, and our persons insulted, for celebrating the memory of King William on the 4th, and our double deliverance from popery on the 5th of November. Letters are known to be intercepted, wherein the Pretender, in order to engage the clergy to his interest, promises to render the church independent on the state: a thing he knows an ignorant, corrupt, aspiring party here, does covet above all things; and wherein he's certainly most sincere, as it paves the way for his own religion. The Protestants of Ireland, however divided with relation to the subordination or party of gospel ministers, yet were always united against their common enemies, the Papists, without splitting on the distinction of Whig or Tory, till Sir Roger sent thither his incendiaries, who have inflamed and exasperated them against each other, to the highest degree of rage. The one is an impudent pettifogging lawyer, (Phipps;) the other a profligate libertine parson, (Higgens;) both notorious for their enmity to the succession. Add to all this, the prodigious insolence of the Jacobites and Papists at the late elections, the unheard-of extravagances (whereof mobbing was the least) that they practised, in assisting with their votes those who were in the last parliament for the bill of commerce, and you'll agree, my lord, that therefore they expect something more than that bill (destructive as it is) from those gentlemen in this parliament, wherein, I am confident, they'll find themselves egregiously deceived."—*The Art of Restoring; or the Piety and Probity of General Monk.* London, 1714, p. 41.

bringing in the Pretender during her majesty's life, or that he should succeed after her decease.

Secondly, that, if they conceived such a design, it was absolutely necessary to prosecute it from the first year of their ministry; because, for at least a year before the queen's death it, was impossible to have put such a design in execution.

I must premise with three circumstances, which have a great effect on me, and must have the like upon those among my friends, who have any tolerable opinion of my veracity; and it is only to those that I offer them.

I remember, during the late treaty of peace, discoursing at several times with some very eminent persons of the opposite side, with whom I had long acquaintance; I asked them seriously, "Whether they, or any of their friends, did in earnest believe, or suspect, the queen, or the ministry, to have any favourable regards toward the Pretender?" They all confessed, for themselves, "That they believed nothing of the matter:" and particularly, a person, at present in great employment, said to me, with much frankness, "You set up the church and Sacheverell against us; and we set up trade and the Pretender against you."

The second point I would observe is this, that, during the course of the late ministry, upon occasion of the libels every day thrown about, I had the curiosity to ask almost every person in great employment, "Whether they knew, or had heard, of any one particular man, (except those who professed to be nonjurors,) that discovered the least inclination toward the Pretender?" And the whole number they could muster up did not amount to above five or six; among which, one was a certain old lord lately dead, and one a private gentleman, of little consequence, and of a broken fortune: yet I do not be-

lieve myself to have omitted any one great man that came in my way, except the Duke of Buckingham, in whose company I never was above once, or twice at most. I am, therefore, as confident as a man can be of any truth which will not admit a demonstration, that, upon the queen's death, if we except papists and nonjurors, there could not be five hundred persons in England, of all ranks, who had any thoughts of the Pretender; and among these, not six of any quality or consequence: but how it has come to pass that several millions are said to have since changed their sentiments, it shall not be my part to inquire.

The last point is of the same strain; and I offer it, like the two former, to convince only those who are willing to believe me on my own word: that having been, for the space of almost four years, very nearly and perpetually conversant with those who had the greatest share of power, and this in their times of leisure as well as business, I could never hear one single word let fall in favour of the Pretender, although I was curious enough to observe, in a particular manner, what passed upon that subject. And I cannot but think, that if such an affair had been in agitation, I must have had either very bad luck, or a very small share of common understanding, not to have discovered some grounds, at least, for suspicion: because I never yet knew a minister of state, or indeed any other man, so great a master of secrecy, as to be able, among those he nearly conversed with, wholly to conceal his opinions, however he may cover his designs. This, I say, upon a supposition that they would have held on the mask always before me, which, however, I have no reason to believe. And I confess, it is with the expence of some patience, that I hear this matter summarily determined, by those who had no advantages of

knowing anything that passed, otherwise than what they found in a libel or a coffeehouse; or at best, from general reasonings built upon mistaken facts. Now, although what I have hitherto said upon this point can have no influence farther than my own personal credit reaches; yet, I confess, I shall never be brought to change my opinion, till some one, who had more opportunities than I, will be able to produce any single particular, from the letters, the discourses, or the actions of those ministers, as a proof of what they allege; which has not yet been attempted or pretended.

But, I believe, there may be several arguments of another nature produced, which can make it very evident, to those who will hear reason, that the queen's ministers never had it in their thoughts to alter the succession of the crown.

For, first, when her majesty had determined to change her servants, it is very well known, that those whom she appointed to succeed them were generally accounted favourers of what is called the low church party; not only my Lords Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Harcourt, but a great majority of the rest: among which, I can immediately name the Dukes of Shrewsbury, Newcastle, and Argyle; the Earls of Peterborough, Rivers, Strafford, Ilay, and Orrery; the Lords Mansel and Masham, with several others, whom I cannot at present recollect. Whereas, of the other party, the Dukes of Ormond and Buckingham, and the Earl of Dartmouth, were the only persons introduced at first, and very few afterward: which, I suppose, will clearly evince, that the bringing in of the Pretender was not the original scheme of such ministers, and that they were by no means proper instruments for such a work.

And whoever knew anything of the queen's disposition, must believe she had no inclinations at all

in favour of the Pretender. She was highly and publicly displeased with my Lord Bolingbroke, because he was seen under the same roof with that person at the opera, when his lordship was sent to France, upon some difficulties about the peace. Her majesty said, "That he ought immediately to have withdrawn, upon the appearance of the other:" wherein, to speak with freedom, I think her judgment was a little mistaken. And at her toilet, among her women, when mention happened to be made of the chevalier, she would frequently let fall expressions of such a nature, as made it manifest how little she deserved those reproaches, which had been cast on her since her death upon that account.

Besides, I have already said, that her majesty began those changes at court, for no other cause than her personal displeasure against a certain family, and their allies; and from the hope she had to obtain a peace, by the removal of some, whose interest it was to obstruct it: that when the former chancellor, president, and others came to her, determined to deliver up their employments, she pressed them, somewhat more than it became her dignity, to continue in their stations; of which, I suppose, my Lord Cowper is yet a living witness.*

I am forced to repeat, what I have before observed, that it was with the utmost difficulty she could be ever persuaded to dismiss any person upon the score of party; and that she drove her ministers into the greatest distress, upon my Lord Nottingham's vote against any peace without Spain, for want of speaking to one or two depending lords, although with the last danger of breaking the mea-

* In Lord Cowper's Life, in the Biographia Britannica, the queen is said to have requested that he would retain his place as chancellor, which he declined, judging it incompatible with his political principles.

sures she was most fond of, toward settling the repose of Europe. She had besides, upon the removal of the Duchess of Marlborough, chosen another great lady to succeed,* who quickly grew into higher credit than all her ministers together: a lady openly professing the utmost aversion for the persons, the principles, and measures of those who were then in power, and excelling all, even of her own sex, in every art of insinuation: and this her majesty thought fit to do, in opposition to the strongest representations that could possibly be made to her, of the inconveniences which would ensue. Her only objection against several clergymen recommended to her for promotions in the church, was their being too violent in party. And a lady in high favour with her has frequently assured me, "That, whenever she moved the queen to discard some persons, who, upon all occasions, with great virulence opposed the court, her majesty would constantly refuse, and at the same time condemn her for too much party zeal."

But, besides all this, there never was a more stale or antiquated cause than that of the Pretender, at the time when her majesty chose her last ministers, who were most of them children or youths when King James II. abdicated. They found a prince upon the throne, before they were of years to trouble themselves with speculations upon government; and, consequently, could have no scruples of conscience in submitting to the present powers, since they hardly remembered any other. And, truly, this was in general the case of the whole kingdom; for the adherents of King James II. were all either dead, or in exile, or sunk in obscurity, laden with years and want; so that, if any guilt were contracted by

* The Duchess of Somerset succeeded the Duchess of Marlborough as groom of the stole and mistress of the robes.

the Revolution, it was generally understood that our ancestors were only to answer for it. And I am confident, (with an exception to professed nonjurors,) there was not one man in ten thousand, through England, who had other sentiments. Nor can the contrary opinion be defended, by arguing the prodigious disaffection at present; because the same thing has happened before, from the same cause, in our own country, and within the memory of man, although not with the same event.

But such a disaffection could hardly have been raised against an absent prince, who was only in expectation of the throne; and, indeed, I cannot but reckon it as a very strong argument, for the good disposition, both in the ministry and kingdom, toward the house of Hanover, that, during my Lord Oxford's administration, there was never thrown out the least reflection against that illustrious house, in any libel or pamphlet; which would hardly have happened, if the small party writers could have thought, that, by such a performance, they would have made their court to those in power; and which would certainly have been a very useful preliminary, if any attempt had been intended toward altering the succession to the crown. But, however, to say the truth, invectives against the absent, and with whom we have nothing to do, although they may render persons little and contemptible, can hardly make them odious; for hatred is produced by motives of a very different nature, as experience has shown. And although politicians affirm it more eligible for a prince to be hated than despised, yet that maxim is better calculated for an absolute monarchy than for the climate of England. But I am sensible this is a digression; therefore I return.

The treaties made by her majesty with France and Spain were calculated, in several points, directly

against the Pretender, as he has now found to his cost, and as it is manifest to all the world. Neither could anything be more superficial than the politics of those, who could be brought to think that the Regent of France would ever engage in measures against the present King of England; and how the grimace of an ambassador's taking, or not taking, his public character, as in the case of the Earl of Stairs, should serve so long for an amusement, cannot be sufficiently wondered at. What can be plainer, than that the chief interest of the Duke of Orleans is woven and twisted with that of King George; and this, whether it shall be thought convenient to suffer the young King of France to live longer or not? For, in the second case, the regent perfectly agrees with our present king in this particular circumstance, that the whole order of succession has been broken for his sake; by which means, he likewise will be encumbered with a Pretender, and thereby engaged, upon the strongest motives, to prevent the union of France and Spain under one monarch. And even in the other case, the chance of a boy's life, and his leaving heirs male of his body, is so dubious, that the hopes of a crown to the regent, or his children, will certainly keep that prince, as long as his power continues, very firm in his alliance with England.

And as this design was originally intended and avowed by the queen's ministers, in their treaties with France and Spain, so the events have fully answered in every particular. The present king succeeded to these crowns, with as hearty and universal a disposition of the people, as could possibly consist with the grief for the loss of so gracious and excellent a princess as her late majesty. The parliament was most unanimous in doing everything that could endear them to a new monarch. The general peace did entirely put an end to any design,

which France or Spain might probably have laid, to make a diversion by an invasion upon Scotland, with the Pretender at the head, in case her majesty had happened to die during the course of the war; and upon the death of the late French king, the Duke of Orleans fell immediately into the strictest measures with England; as the queen and her ministers easily foresaw it would be necessary for him to do, from every reason that could regard his own interest. If the queen had died but a short time before the peace, and either of the two great powers engaged against us had thought fit to have thrown some troops into Scotland, although it could not have been a very agreeable circumstance to a successor and a stranger, yet the universal inclinations at that time in England, toward the house of Hanover, would, in all probability, have prevented the consequences of such an enterprise. But, on the other side, if the war had continued a year longer than her majesty's life, and the same causes had been applied to produce the same effects upon the affections of the people, the issue must inevitably have been either a long and bloody civil war, or a sudden revolution. So that no incident could have arrived more effectual, to fortify the present king's title, and secure his possession, than that very peace, so much exploded by one party, and so justly celebrated by the other; in continuing to declare which opinions, under the present situation of things, it is not very improbable that they may both be in jest.

But, if any articles of that peace were likely to endanger the Protestant succession, how could it come to pass that the Dutch, who were guarantees of that succession, and valued for zealous defenders of it, should be so ready with their offers to comply with every article; and this for no greater a reward

than a share in the assiento trade, which the opposers of peace represented to be only a trifle? That the fact is true, I appeal to M. de Buys, who, upon some difficulties the ministry were under by the Earl of Nottingham's vote against any peace, while Spain continued in the Bourbon family, undertook to make that matter easy, by getting a full approbation from the States, his masters, of all her majesty's proceedings, provided they might be sharers in that trade. I can add this farther, that some months after the conclusion of the peace, and amid all the appearing discontents of the Dutch, a gentleman who had long resided in Holland, and was occasionally employed by the ministers here, assured me, "That he had power from the pensionary to treat with the Earl of Oxford, about sending hither an extraordinary embassy from Holland, to declare that the States were fully satisfied with the whole plan of the peace, upon certain conditions, which were easy and honourable, and such as had no relation at all to the Pretender." How this happened to fail, I never inquired, nor had any discourse about it with those in power; for, then their affairs were growing desperate, by the Earl of Oxford's declination in the queen's favour; both which became so public, as well as her majesty's bad state of health, that I suppose, those circumstances might easily cool the Dutch politicians in that pursuit.

I remember to have heard it objected against the last ministry, as an instance of their inclination toward the Pretender, "That they were careless in cultivating a good correspondence with the house of Hanover." And on the other side, I know very well what continual pains were employed, to satisfy and inform the elector and his ministers, in every step taken by her majesty, and what offers were made to his highness, for any further securities of

the succession in him and his family, that could consist with the honour and safety of the queen. To this purpose were all the instructions given to Earl Rivers, Mr. Thomas Harley, Lord Clarendon, and some others.* But all endeavours were rendered abortive by a foolish circumstance, which has often made me remember the common observation, of the greatest events depending frequently upon the lowest, vilest, and obscurest causes; and this is never more verified than in courts, and the issues of public affairs, whereof I could produce, from my own knowledge and observation, three or four very surprising instances. I have seen an old bed-maker,† by officiously going to one door, when gratitude, as well as common sense, should have sent her to another, become the instrument of putting the nation to the expence of some thousand lives, and several millions of money. I have known as great an event from the stupidity, or wilfulness, of a beggarly Dutchman,‡ who lingered on purpose half an hour at a visit, when he had promised to be somewhere else. Of no greater dignity was that circumstance, which rendered ineffectual all endeavours of the late ministry to establish themselves in the good graces of the court of Hanover, as I shall particularly relate in another work. It may suffice to hint at present, that a delay in conveying a very inconsiderable sum,

* In the little apology for the Earl of Oxford, called the "History of the White Staff," he is stated to have incurred the jealousy of the chancellor Bolingbroke, and even of the queen, by holding a sort of demi-official intercourse, of a private nature, with the court of Hanover. They alleged, he would not consent that a public and honourable embassy should be sent, but kept his kinsman, Mr. Thomas Harley, there, without any official character, in order to carry on his own private intrigues.

† Mrs. Foisson, necessary-woman to the queen, preferred to that employment by Lady Masham.—D. S.

‡ Carew Lord Hunsdon, born and bred in Holland.—D. S.

to a very inconsiderable French vagrant,* gave the opportunity to a more industrious party of corrupting that channel, through which all the ideas of the dispositions and designs of the queen, the ministers, and the whole British nation, were conveyed.

The second point which I conceived myself able to make out is this, that, if the queen's ministers had, with or without the knowledge of their mistress, entertained any thoughts of altering the succession in favour of the Pretender, it was absolutely necessary for them to have begun and prosecuted that design as soon as they came into her majesty's service.

There were two circumstances, which would have made it necessary for them to have lost no time. First, because it was a work that could not possibly be done on a sudden; for the whole nation, almost to a man, excepting professed nonjurors, had conceived the utmost abhorrence of a popish successor; and, as I have already observed, the scruple of conscience, upon the point of loyalty, was wholly confined to a few antiquated nonjurors, who lay starving in obscurity: so that, in order to have brought such an affair about in a parliamentary way, some years must have been employed to turn the bent of the nation, to have rendered one person odious, and another amiable; neither of which is to be soon compassed toward absent princes, unless by comparing them with those of whom we have had experience, which was not then the case.†

The other circumstance was, the bad condition of the queen's health; her majesty growing every day more unwieldy, and the gout, with other disorders, increasing on her; so that, whoever was near the

* Mons. de Robethon. He was privy counsellor to the elector, (afterwards George I.) and enjoyed much of his confidence.

† This sentence almost implies an attachment to the house of Stuart, derived from experience of that of Hanover: Yet Swift's opinions certainly did not go so far.

court, for about the two last years of her reign, might boldly have fixed the period of her life to a very few months, without pretending to prophecy. And how little a time the ministers had, for so great a work as that of changing the succession of the crown, and how difficult the very attempt would have been, may be judged, from the umbrage taken by several lords of the church party, in the last year of her reign, who appeared under an apprehension that the very quarrels among the ministers might possibly be of some disadvantage to the house of Hanover. And the universal declaration, both among lords and commons at that time, as well in favour of the Elector, as against the Pretender, are an argument, beyond all conviction, that some years must have been spent in altering the dispositions of the people. Upon this occasion, I shall not soon forget what a great minister then said to me, and which I have been since assured was likewise the Duke of Shrewsbury's opinion: "That there could be no doubt of the elector's undisturbed succession; but the chief difficulty lay in the future disaffection of the church and people, and landed interest, from that universal change of men and measures, which he foresaw would arrive." And it must be, to all impartial men, above a thousand witnesses, how innocent her majesty's servants were upon this article; that, knowing so well through what channels all favour was to pass upon the queen's demise, they, by their coming into power, had utterly and for ever broken all measures with the opposite party; and that, in the beginning of their administration, there wanted not, perhaps, certain favourable junctures, which some future circumstances would not have failed to cultivate. Yet their actions showed them so far from any view toward the Pretender, that they neglected pursuing those measures, which they had constantly in their power, not only of securing them-

selves, but the interest of the church, without any violence to Protestant succession in the person of the elector. And this unhappy neglect I take to have been the only disgrace of their ministry. To prevent this evil was, I confess, the chief point wherein all my little politics terminated; and the methods were easy and obvious. But whoever goes about to gain favour with a prince, by a readiness to enlarge his prerogative, although out of principle and opinion, ought to provide that he be not outbid by another party; however professing a contrary principle. For I never yet read or heard of any party, acting in opposition to the true interest of their country, whatever republican denominations they affected to be distinguished by, who would not be contented to chaffer public liberty for personal power, or for an opportunity of gratifying their revenge; of which truth, Greece and Rome, as well as many other states, will furnish plenty of examples. This reflection I could not well forbear, although it may be of little use, farther than to discover my own resentment. And yet, perhaps, that misfortune ought rather to be imputed to the want of concert and confidence, than of prudence or of courage.

I must here take notice of an accusation charged upon the late ministry by the House of Commons, that they put a lie, or falsehood, into the queen's mouth, to be delivered to her parliament. Mr. Thomas Harley was sent to the Elector of Hanover, with instructions to offer his highness any farther securities, for settling the succession in him and his family, that could consist with her majesty's honour and safety. This gentleman writ a letter to the secretary of state, a little before his return from Hanover, signifying, in direct terms, "That the elector expressed himself satisfied in the queen's proceedings, and desired to live in confidence with her." He writ to the same purpose to one of the

under-secretaries; and mentioned the fact as a thing that much pleased him, and what he desired might be as public as possible. Both these letters I have read; and the queen, as she had reason to suppose, being sufficiently authorized by this notice from her minister, made mention of that information in a speech from the throne. If the fact were a lie, it is what I have not heard Mr. Harley to have been charged with. From what has since passed in the world, I should indeed be inclined to grant it might have been a compliment to his highness, and perhaps understood to be so by the queen; but, without question, her majesty had a fair excuse to take the elector according to the literal meaning of his words. And if this be so, the imputation of falsehood must remain, where these accusers of that excellent princess's veracity will, I suppose, not profess at least, an inclination to place it.

I am very willing to mention the point, wherein, as I said, all my little politics terminated, and wherein I may pretend to know that the ministers were of the same opinion; and would have put it in practice, if it pleased God to let them continue to act with any kind of unanimity.

I have already observed, how well it was known at court, what measures the elector intended to follow, whenever his succession should take place; and what hands he would employ in the administration of his affairs. I have likewise mentioned some facts and reasons, which influenced and fixed his highness in that determination, notwithstanding all possible endeavours to divert him from it. Now, if we consider the dispositions of England at that time, when almost the whole body of the clergy, a vast majority of the landed interest, and of the people in general, were of the church party; it must be granted that one or two acts, which might have passed in ten days, would have put it utterly

out of the power of the successor to have procured a House of Commons of a different stamp, and this with very little diminution to the prerogative; which acts might have been only temporary. For the usual arts to gain parliaments can hardly be applied with success after the election, against a majority at least of three in four; because the trouble and expence would be too great, beside the loss of reputation. For, neither could such a number of members find their account in point of profit, nor would the crown be at so much charge and hazard, merely for the sake of governing by a small party, against the bent and genius of the nation. And as to all attempts of influencing electors, they would have been sufficiently provided for by the scheme intended. I suppose it need not be added, that the government of England cannot move a step, while the House of Commons continues to dislike proceedings, or persons employed; at least in an age where parliaments are grown so frequent, and are made so necessary: whereas a minister is but the creature of a day; and a House of Lords has been modelled in many reigns, by enlarging the number, as well as by other obvious expedients.

The judicious reader will soon comprehend how easily the legislature at that time could have provided against the power and influence of a court, or ministry, in future elections, without the least injury to the succession, and even without the modern invention of perpetuating themselves; which, however, I must needs grant to be one of the most effectual, vigorous, and resolute proceedings that I have yet met with in reading or information. For the long parliament under King Charles I., although it should be allowed of good authority, will hardly amount to an example.

I must again urge and repeat, that those who charge the Earl of Oxford, and the rest of that

ministry, with a design of altering the succession the crown in favour of the Pretender, will perh be at some difficulty to fix the time when that desi was in agitation; for, if such an attempt had beg with their power, it is not easy to assign a reas why it did not succeed; because there were cert periods, when her majesty and her servants we extremely popular, and the House of Hanover r altogether so much, upon account of some behavio here, and some other circumstances that may bett be passed over in silence: all which, however, h no other consequence than that of repeated me sages of kindness and assurance to the elect During the last two years of the queen's life, h health was in such a condition, that it was wonder how she could hold out so long; and then, as have already observed, it was too late and hazar ous to engage in an enterprise which required much time, and which the ministers themselves h rendered impracticable, by the whole course of th former proceedings, as well as by the continuan and heightening of those dissensions, which h early risen among them.

The party now in power will easily agree, th this design of overthrowing the succession could n be owing to any principle of conscience in tho whom they accuse; for they knew very well, l their own experience and observation, that su kind of scruples have given but small disturban of late years in these kingdoms. Since interest therefore the only test by which we are to jud the intentions of those who manage public affai it would have been but reasonable to have show how the interest of the queen's ministers could l advanced by introducing the Pretender, before th were charged with such an intention. Her majes was several years younger than her intended su cessor; and at the beginning of that ministry, h

no disorders, except the gout, which is not usually reckoned a shortener of life; and those in chief trust were, generally speaking, older than their mistress; so that no persons had ever a fairer prospect of running on the natural life of an English ministry; considering, likewise, the general vogue of the kingdom, at that time in their favour. And it will be hard to find an instance in history, of a set of men, in full possession of power, so sanguine as to form an enterprise of overthrowing the government, without the visible prospect of a general defection, which (then at least) was not to be hoped for. Neither do I believe it was ever heard of, that a ministry, in such circumstances, durst engage in so dangerous an attempt, without the direct commands of their sovereign. And as to the persons then in service, if they may be allowed to have common sense, they would much sooner have surrendered their employments, than hazard the loss of their heads, at so great odds, before they had tried or changed the disposition of the parliament; which is an accusation, that, I think, none of their libellers have charged upon them, at least till toward the end of their ministry; and then, very absurdly, because the want of time, and other circumstances, rendered such a work impossible, for several reasons which I have already related.

And whoever considers the late queen, so little enterprising in her nature, so much given to delay, and at the same time so obstinate in her opinions, (as restiness is commonly attended with slowness,) so great a pursuer of peace and quiet, and so exempt from the two powerful passions of love and hatred; will hardly think she had a spirit turned for such an undertaking: if we add to this, the contempts she often expressed for the person and concerns of the chevalier her brother, of which I have already said enough to be understood.

It has been objected against the late queen and her servants, as a mark of no favourable disposition toward the House of Hanover, that the electoral prince was not invited to reside in England: and at the same time it ought to be observed, that this objection was raised and spread, by the leaders of that party, who first opposed the counsel of inviting him; offering, among other arguments against it, the example of Queen Elizabeth, who would not so much as suffer her successor to be declared, expressing herself, that she would not live with her gravestone always in her sight; although the case be by no means parallel between the two queens. For, in her late majesty's reign, the crown was as firmly settled on the Hanover family as the legislature could do it: and the question was only, whether the presumptive heir, of distant kindred, should keep his court in the same kingdom and metropolis with the sovereign, while the nation was torn between different parties, to be at the head of that faction which her majesty and the body of her people utterly disapproved; and, therefore, the leaders on both sides, when they were in power, did positively determine this question in the negative. And if we may be allowed to judge by events, the reasons were cogent enough; since differences may happen to arise between two princes the most nearly allied in blood; although it be true indeed, that, where the duty to a parent is added to the allegiance of a subject, the consequence of family dissensions may not always be considerable.

For my own part, I freely told my opinion to the ministers; and did afterward offer many reasons for it, in a discourse intended for the public, but stopped by the queen's death,* that the young grandson (whose name I cannot remember) should be invited

* "Some Considerations upon the Death of the Queen." See Vol. V. p. 255.

over to be educated in England; by which, I conceived, the queen might be secure from the influence of cabals and factions; the zealots, who affected to believe the succession in danger, could have no pretences to complain; and the nation might one day hope to be governed by a prince of English manners and language, as well as acquainted with the true constitution of church and state. And this was the judgment of those at the helm, before I offered it: neither were they nor their mistress to be blamed, that such a resolution was not pursued. Perhaps, from what has since happened, the reader will be able to satisfy himself.

I have now said all I could think convenient (considering the time wherein I am writing) upon those two points, which I proposed to discourse on, wherein I have dealt with the utmost impartiality, and, I think, upon the fairest supposition, which is that of allowing men to act upon the motives of their interests and their passions; for I am not so weak as to think one ministry more virtuous than another, unless by chance, or by extraordinary prudence and virtue of the prince; which last, taking mankind in the lump, and adding the great counterbalance of royal education, is a very rare accident; and, where it happens, is even then of little use, when factions are violent. But it so falls out, that, among contending parties in England, the general interest of church and state is more the private interest of one side than the other; so that, whoever professes to act upon a principle of observing the laws of his country, may have a safe rule to follow, by discovering whose particular advantage it chiefly is, that the constitution should be preserved entire in all its parts. For there cannot, properly speaking, be above two parties in such a government as ours; and one side will find themselves obliged to take in.

all the subaltern denominations of those who dislike the present establishment, in order to make themselves a balance against the other; and such a party, composed of mixed bodies; although they differ widely in the several fundamentals of religion and government, and all of them from the true public interest, yet, whenever their leaders are taken into power, under an ignorant, unactive, or ill-designing prince, will probably, by the assistance of time or force, become the majority, unless they be prevented by a steadiness, which there is little reason to hope; or by some revolution, which there is much more reason to fear. For, abuses in administration may last much longer than politicians seem to be aware of; especially where some bold steps are made to corrupt the very fountain of power and legislature: in which case, as it may happen in some states, the whole body of the people are drawn in, by their own supposed consent, to be their own enslavers; and where will they find a thread to wind themselves out of this labyrinth? or will they not rather wish to be governed by arbitrary power, after the manner of other nations? For, whoever considers the course of the Roman empire after Cæsar's usurpation, the long continuance of the Turkish government, or the destruction of the Gothic balance in most kingdoms of Europe, will easily see how controllable that maxim is, that *res nolunt diu malè administrari;* because, as corruptions are more natural to mankind than perfections, so they are more likely to have a longer continuance. For, the vices of men, considered as individuals, are exactly the same when they are moulded into bodies; nor otherwise to be withheld in their effects, than by good fundamental laws; in which, when any great breaches are made, the consequence will be the same as in the life of a particular man; whose vices are seldom known to end but with himself.

TRACTS,

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL,

DURING THE

REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE.

WRITTEN BY SWIFT'S FRIENDS,
AND TO WHICH HE IS SUPPOSED TO HAVE CONTRIBUTED.

This class of Tracts is, for obvious reasons, separated from the genuine and avowed productions of the Author himself.

A TRUE

NARRATIVE

OF WHAT PASSED

AT THE EXAMINATION

OF

THE MARQUIS DE GUISCARD,

AT THE COCKPIT, MARCH 8, 1710–1711;

HIS STABBING MR. HARLEY;

AND OTHER PRECEDENT AND SUBSEQUENT FACTS, RELATING TO THE LIFE OF THE SAID GUISCARD.

FIRST PRINTED FOR JOHN MORPHEW, IN 1711.

THE hero of the following tragedy was originally called the Abbé de la Bourlie. He was brother to the Compte de Guiscard, a lieutenant-general in the French service, who was governor of Namur, when that fortress surrendered to King William. The abbé joined a wild and ill-regulated imagination to a daring temper and extravagant habits, and a family quarrel easily determined him upon embarking his fate with that of the Camisars, a sect of Protestants, who had taken up arms in the Cevennes, where they long maintained a predatory and desultory warfare.

Having established some correspondence among their chiefs, he visited Vienna and the Hague, under the name of the Marquis de Guiscard, and received encouragement both from the Imperial and Dutch governments. In England his success was still greater, for he was named lieutenant-colonel of a refugee regiment, and sent, holding the commission of a lieutenant-general, along with a large body of British troops, destined to land on the southern coast of France. But the British general, Lord Rivers, finding the account which Guiscard gave of his expected support greatly too vague to justify his hazarding a British army in the adventure, held a council of war in Torbay, which came to resolutions so disadvantageous to Guiscard, that the enterprise was altogether abandoned. Being discountenanced by the ministry, after this event, he subsisted chiefly by his art as a gambler, although he was still received into company, and was particularly intimate with Mr. St. John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke, who then led a very dissipated life. It has been supposed, that Guiscard had expectations from this intimacy, altogether inconsistent with the manner in which it had arisen, and that this disappointment greatly aggravated his resentment of the desperate circumstances to which he was soon reduced. The queen, indeed, ordered him a provision not exceeding £500 a year, which the economy of the lords of the treasury reduced to £400. But even this was uncertain and ill-paid. The conclusion was his opening a treasonable correspondence with France, his apprehension, and his attempt to assassinate Harley.

How much Swift felt for the danger of his friend, we learn from his expressions of agonizing distress, in his private Journal to Stella.* Nor would he have omitted so good an opportunity to show his zeal for his political party, as this event afforded, had there not occurred a delicacy in drawing up the narrative, which, in fact, occasioned the first coldness between St. John and Harley. The former affected to regard himself as the primary object of Guiscard's violence. This was probably true; for Guiscard considered himself as deserted, and even betrayed by St. John, who had been formerly his intimate, and against Harley he had no personal subject of animosity. Indeed, the whole story tends to confirm the opinion of those who held that St. John was the principal object of the assassin's vengeance: But still Harley had suffered the effects of it; and as he and his party unanimously ascribed the frantic violence of a desperate man to a serious intention of relieving France from her most dangerous enemy, Harley and his friends resented St. John's attempt to deprive him of a merit acquired at the risque of his life.† To avoid com-

* Vol. II. p. 194. † Vol. III.

mitting himself on so ticklish a point of competition, Swift entrusted Mrs. Manley, author of the "New Atalantis," with the task of composing the following narrative, from the facts with which he furnished her. This appears from the following passage in his Journal:

"Yesterday was sent me a narrative printed, with all the circumstances of Mr. Harley's stabbing. I had not time to do it myself; so I sent my hints to the author of the Atalantis; and she has cooked it into a sixpenny pamphlet, in her own style; only the first page is left as I was beginning it. But I am afraid of disobliging Mr. Harley or Mr. St. John, in one critical point, about it, and so would not do it myself. It is worth your reading, for the circumstances are all true." Journal to Stella, April 16, 1711.—"Guiscard, and what you will read in the narrative, I ordered to be written." In the "Memoirs relating to the Change in the Queen's Ministry," Swift says, that he furnished some materials to the editor of this tract. And in the Journal to Stella, 3d November 1711,* he terms the pamphlet "An Account of Guiscard, by the same woman," (Mrs. Manley,) but the facts sent by Presto, (himself.)

It is needless to observe, that the tawdry and declamatory style of the narrative is very different from that of our author.

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THERE is nothing received with more pleasure in history, than the minute passages and circumstances of such facts as are extraordinary and surprising. We often lament to see an important accident nakedly told, stripped of those particularities which are most entertaining and instructive in such relations. This defect is frequent in all historians, not through their own fault, but for want of information. For while facts are fresh in memory, nobody takes care to record them, as thinking it idle to inform the world in what they know already; and by this means the accounts we have of them are only traditional, the circumstances forgotten, and perhaps sup-

* Vol. III.

plied with false ones, or formed upon probabilities, according to the genius of the writer.

But, beside the informing posterity on such occasions, there is something due to the present age. People at distance are curious and concerned to know the particulars of great events, as well as those in the metropolis; and so are the neighbouring nations. And the relations they receive are usually either very imperfect, or misrepresented on purpose, by the prejudice of party, in the relaters.

I shall endeavour to avoid both these errors, in the fact I am going to relate; and, having made use of some good opportunities, to be informed from the first hands, of several passages not generally known, I hope it will be in my power to give some satisfaction to the public.

About six years ago there came into England a French papist, the younger brother of a noble family in that kingdom, called Antoine de Guiscard, Abbot de Borly, near the Cevennes in France. And as it is the usual custom for cadets of quality there to betake themselves to the army or the church, Guiscard chose the latter, and had an abbey given him of a considerable revenue; but, being of a vicious and profligate nature, he fell into the most horrible crimes that a man can commit. Among other instances it is said that he seduced a nun. It is likewise reported, that he and his younger brother, suspecting their receiver had cheated, got the poor man to their house, and put him to the torture, to force a discovery from him. Beside keeping a *serrail* in his abbey, when he used to receive a sum together from his revenue, his custom was, to go to Tholouse, and lavish it in all sorts of excesses. A young lady, of a good family, was so unhappy to be prevailed on, to her dishonour, by his brother. Monsieur de Guiscard was afterwards employed to steal her from

her father; but, falling in love with her himself, he carried her off from his rival into Switzerland. Satiety not long after succeeding, he was so inhuman to poison the poor unfortunate lady. After his flight, he was hanged in effigy by the magistrates at the principal town in Rouergue, for his intended rebellion. It is agreed on all hands, that upon account of his many enormities, (but, as himself terms them in his Memoirs,* "private domestic concerns, and the crying injustice done his family,") he withdrew to his own lands in the province of Rouergue, contiguous to that part of Languedoc called The Cevennes; where he endeavoured to raise insurrections among the discontented people, of which he has published a very foolish account: but, having neither credit nor ability for such an undertaking, his success was answerable. He was forced to fly into Switzerland, without taking any measures for the safety of those poor wretches involved with him, and who had been so unhappy to be wrought by his insinuations. Thirty of the Roman Catholic persuasion (seduced by Guiscard into the design of rebelling for liberty, not religion) fell under the sentence of the magistrate, and were broken upon the wheel; though it is said, if Monsieur de Guiscard, upon whom they depended for intelligence, had but delayed his flight only so long as to send notice to those gentlemen of the danger impending, they might all, or at least the greater number of them, have escaped as well as himself.

The Marquis de Guiscard had an early, an un-

* "Authentic Memoirs, being Secret Transactions in the Southern Provinces of France, to rescue that Nation from Slavery, Dedicated to the Queen of Great Britain. By the Marquis de Guiscard, Lieutenant-General of the Forces gone upon the present Descent." This Archbishop King, in a letter to Swift, calls, justly, a very foolish narrative.

doubted, propensity to mischief and villany, but without those fine parts useful in the cabinet; he had not capacity to conduct a design, though he might have brain enough to form one; was wholly unacquainted with war, had never been in the army, a profligate abbot, who knew nothing of the soldier. Yet this man we find immediately made a colonel of a regiment of horse, and lieutenant-general, with a pension, as it is said, from Holland, as well as from us. To do all this for one wholly ignorant of a camp, was foolish as well as scandalous.

Nor had adversity made any impression upon his manners. His behaviour here was expensive, luxurious, vicious; lavishing at play, and upon women, what was given him for his own support. Beside his continual good fortune with other ladies, he kept two in constant pay, upon whom he made a profuse and regular expence: one of those creatures was married; whom that he might possess with the greater ease, he procured her husband to be pressed, and sent away into the service: a transcript of that state cunning sometimes practised by great politicians (when they would disencumber themselves of an *incommode*) in affairs of the like emergency.

At first there was none more caressed than our foreign favourite. A late minister seldom saw a levee without him; though we admit *that* is not always a proof of being a favourite of those to whom they make their court. There are who crowd themselves where they have done the most sensible injuries, and against whom they have been guilty of the highest offence: but want of shame is one part of an ill man's character; as another branch is, that he can submit to the meanest things.

Monsieur de Guiscard had the misfortune to sink under his character, even to those great men who at first had most indulged him. His parts were too

mean to balance or uphold him against a just contempt: he was found a useless villain, whose inferior understanding could not answer expectation. Proving unserviceable, he was consequently discountenanced, dropped by degrees, and afterward totally neglected; his pension ill paid, and himself reduced to extremity.* This put him upon making his peace with France: a common practice of such villains; whose only business being to support an infamous life in fulness of luxury, they never weigh what stands between them and the end.

The Marquis de Guiscard had no religion, knew nothing of principles, or indeed humanity: brutish, bold, desperate, an engine fit for the blackest mischief; revengeful, busy to design, though full of inconsistencies, and preposterous in his management: his schemes impracticable to any less rash and inconsiderate, as may seem at large in those his

* Boyer, after telling us that Guiscard vainly solicited the continuance of a pension he had for some time enjoyed from Holland, gives the following account of his declension :—" Hereupon the marquis returned to England, where, what with the small stock he had not yet squandered away; what with the scanty supply of £200 he received from the government; what by the generosity of some noble persons, and foreign ministers, who still admitted him to their tables, though with more caution in their discourses than before; he made a shift not only to live, but to keep his equipage. The death of Count Briançon, envoy extraordinary from the Duke of Savoy, with whom he lived in strict amity, and confederacy of pleasures, and who contributed most towards the expences of their amorous intrigues, was a sensible mortification to Mr. de Guiscard, who, soon after, was obliged to lay down his coach, and dismiss part of his servants; and, at last, to pawn his plate; and run into debt to keep himself from starving. He was indeed reduced so very low, that, for two or three months before he was apprehended for high treason, he hardly eat at his own house; being forced to live upon such common and cheap food as his housekeeper was able to provide for him out of her small stock; and only supporting his spirits by a plentiful repast, or a bottle of wine, now and then, free cost."—*Political State, ut supra*, p. 299.

ill-formed projects of rebellion against his prince; his aspect gloomy and forbidding, no false indication of the malignancy within. Nor could the evil in his nature be diverted by benefits. The present ministry, regarding him as a man of family, one who had been caressed in England, though they liked neither his principles nor his practice, thought it against the glory of the queen (who is the sanctuary of distressed foreigners) to let a gentleman of such birth want the supports of life; and therefore entered upon measures to pay him four hundred pounds a year, as part of that pension which at first was granted him, and had been for some time discontinued. He could no longer with any pretence be a malecontent: but he would not forego his treacherous design, nor his desire to make his peace at home. Mr. Harley discovered his correspondence: he knew he had wrote three letters to France, with advice of our affairs. This discovery was made a fortnight before Monsieur de Guiscard's seizure. Mr. Harley was willing to convict him under his own hand; and accordingly took all necessary precaution, to have what letters he should write brought to the secretary's office.* In the meantime, persons were employed, that should give an account of all

* The account of the discovery of Guiscard's treason is more particularly given in the "Political State of Europe," for which reason the passage is here extracted.

"You have already been informed, that the way he made use of to write to France was that of Lisbon, whither he sent his letters, under the cover of the Earl of Portmore, to a person who afterwards conveyed them from Lisbon to Paris. His lordship suspecting something, thought fit to open one of those packets; and finding in it a letter directed to a Mr. Moreau, a banker in Paris, unsealed that too, and found in it the confirmation of his suspicions. Hereupon his lordship sent back that letter to his lady, the Countess of Dorchester, with instructions withal, That as she had, by chance, been the happy instrument of the Marquis of Guiscard's treason, she should continue receiving his letters,

his motions; such who played with him, drank with him, walked with him; in a word, those who, under the pretence of diversion and friendship, should never lose sight of him, till that day, when he went to a merchant of his acquaintance to the city, and gave him a letter, with this request, "that he would

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which might contain further proofs of it, and deliver them to the ministers of state; which her ladyship did accordingly.

"For I am credibly informed, that on Monday the 5th of March, about three o'clock in the afternoon, the Marquis of Guiscard sent a packet of letters to the Countess of Dorchester, directed in French, to the Earl of Portmore, at Lisbon; but the countess being then abroad, the packet was left upon the table. Upon her ladyship's coming home, between ten and eleven o'clock at night, she was told that the marquis had sent her a packet; but after she had been in her chamber, she said the packet was missing; upon which she appeared extreme angry; examined all her servants about the matter; and promised two guineas reward to any one that should find the said packet. Moreover, the next morning, she sent to the marquis to let him know, that she would be at his house about three in the afternoon; where, being come at the hour appointed, she acquainted him with the loss of his packet. The marquis seemed somewhat surprised and concerned at it; telling her ladyship, 'That he wrote to my Lord Portmore with the same freedom he used to speak to him, particularly about the troops that had been promised him, which he doubted would not be sent him; that he also wrote to a person in Portugal that was due to him, which he would have paid to an officer of his acquaintance; but that, having sent only copies of the notes, and kept the originals, this loss was not material; but, however, though there was no harm in his letters, yet he should be sorry they should fall into the hands of some people; there being hardly anything so innocent in itself, but what may be made criminal by misconstruction!' He afterwards told her ladyship, how improbable it was that his packet should be lost, or that any of her servants should presume to meddle with it, and earnestly desired her to look for it; which the countess promised to do, and so departed. On Wednesday the 7th, the marquis waited upon the countess, to inquire after his packet; but hearing no news of it, he went away without taking leave of her ladyship; and could not forbear telling one of her servants his suspicion, that she had herself conveyed it away, at which he was much disturbed."—*Political State of Great Britain* for April 1711, p. 301.

be pleased to forward it, and let it be sent away with his own foreign letters."

This letter was brought to Mr. Harley; where he read Monsieur Guiscard's advice to the ministers of France, "that they should invade England as soon as possible, whether they succeed or no; because the mischief it would do us would be irreparable: it would disconcert and divide us, ruin our credit, and do us a vast deal of hurt," &c.

On the eighth of March, the queen's inauguration day, Monsieur de Guiscard, between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, was seized in the Mall, in St. James's Park,* by a warrant of high treason from Mr. Secretary St. John, and carried by the queen's messengers to the Cockpit. He seemed then to have taken his resolution, and to determine that his ruin should be fatal to those persons who occasioned it, by desiring leave to send for a glass of sack, some bread and butter, and a *knife*. The woman of the coffeehouse sent him all but the knife, which was accidentally omitted. He was brought into the clerks' room, and kept there till the cabinet council was assembled; in that room he found a *penknife*, and took it away unperceived; which, as it is supposed, he hid in his sleeve; for there was none found in his pockets, which were searched before his examination.

There were present, at the committee of cabinet council, the lord keeper, lord president,† Duke of Ormond, Duke of Newcastle, Duke of Buckingham, Duke of Queensberry, Earl Poulet, Lord Dartmouth, Mr. Harley, Mr. Secretary St. John.

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* Swift, in a letter to Archbishop King, dated 8th March 1710–11, says, that he passed Guiscard in the Mall, at two o'clock, about an hour before he was taken up, and wondered he did not speak to him.

† Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester.

[Mr. Tilson, Mr. Hare, under-secretaries, sat at a table by themselves.]

Monsieur de Guiscard being brought in to be examined, Mr. Secretary St. John, whose business it was to interrogate him, asked him some questions about his corresponding with France; and whether he had not sent letters thither? Monsieur de Guiscard denied it boldly: meantime his colour came and went. Earl Poulet, before he was brought in, had desired Mr. St. John to change places with Mr. Harley, that Guiscard's face might be full in the light, and his countenance better perceived, in any alteration that might happen at the questions that should be asked him.

The presence of that august assembly, the obligations the criminal had to some in particular, who had honoured him with their favour; and to all in general, as they were of the first rank among a people who had so generously refuged him in his misfortunes; his own guilt, and dread of being detected; might well cause an emotion in the mind and face of the most resolved, most hardened person. He flushed and turned pale, the posture of his feet restless and unassured, his hands in perpetual motion, fumbling in his pocket; which some of that noble assembly reflecting on, could yet well account for, by remembering it was his usual manner: a French air, which has been long since received in England, among some of our fine gentlemen, to a great degree of imitation.

Could one have looked into Guiscard's guilty soul, how terrible at that moment had been the prospect! His dread of conviction, his ingratitude, his treachery, his contempt or desire of death, his despair of heaven, his love of his native country, his spirit of revenge, embroiled his thoughts, fermented his blood, roused his shame, and worked up his resolution to a pitch

of doing all the service to France, and mischief he could to England. Like falling Sampson, to involve in his fate the strength of the enemy: yet he would make one push for life, and, till proof were produced, not give up a cause he could defend so easily as by denying the crime he was charged with; which he did with an undaunted assurance, till Mr. Secretary asked him, "If he knew such a gentleman?" naming the merchant with whom he had left the letter. At that, Guiscard rolled his eyes, assured of his ruin, yet surprised and shocked at the approach. The same question being repeated, he answered, "Yes, what of that?" Being pressed again to discover what he knew of his corresponding with France, he continued obstinate in his pretended ignorance; when Mr. Secretary St. John produced his letter, and, with a force of eloquence inseparable from what he speaks, represented to Monsieur de Guiscard the baseness, the blackness, of his crime; "to betray the queen, his benefactress; Britain, the country that had refuged, supported, trusted, honoured him by the command of her troops with such noble confidence, that made it double villany in him to be a villain:" exhorting him "yet to be sincere, and give up to their information what he knew of the treacherous design he had formed."

While the secretary's words were making an irresistible impression upon every mind but his to whom they were addressed, the criminal formed to himself the destruction of those two dreadful enemies of France, Mr. Harley and Mr. St. John. It seemed to him too hazardous to attempt the design at the full board; not in regard of his own life, (that was already devoted,) but lest they should not be both involved. It appeared reasonable to him, that if, upon the pretence of discovery, he could get Mr. St. John to withdraw, Mr. Harley might possibly be of

the party, and he have a chance to murder both before they could be assisted. Accordingly, when he was pressed to discover, he desired to speak with Mr. St. John apart. The secretary told him, "That was impracticable: he was before the whole committee as a criminal; and what he had to say must be said to all." Upon Guiscard's persisting to speak only to the secretary, they went to ring the bell, to call in the messengers, to carry him away; which he observing, cried out, "That is hard! not one word! *pas un mot!*" and, stooping down, said, "*J'en veux donc à toi.* Then have at thee!" so stabbed Mr. Harley. Redoubling the stroke, the penknife broke, which he was not sensible of; but rushing on toward Mr. St. John, overthrew the clerks' table that stood between. Mr. St. John saw Mr. Harley fall; and cried out, "The villain has killed Mr. Harley!" Then he gave him a wound, as did the Duke of Ormond and the Duke of Newcastle. Mr. St. John was resolved to have killed him, but that he saw Mr. Harley got up and walking about, and heard Earl Poulet cry out, "not to kill Guiscard." The messengers laid hold of him, and tore his coat. He raged, he struggled, he overthrew several of them, with the strength of one desperate or frantic, till at last they got him down, by pulling him backward by the cravat. Like a lion taken in the toils, he foamed, he grinned, his countenance seemed despoiled of the aspect of anything human; his eyes gleamed fire, despair, and fury. He cried out to the Duke of Ormond, whilst they were binding him, amid his execrations and his raving, "My Lord Ormond, *Pourquoi ne moi dépêchez vouz?* Why do you not dispatch me?" * The noble duke made this memor-

* Monsieur Mesnager says, Mr. Harley was stabbed "by *un scélérat François*, a French miscreant, at the council-board, where that wretch was brought to be examined;" and adds, in a strain

able answer, "*Ce n'est pas l'affair des honnetês gens; c'est l'affair d'un autre.* It is not the work of gentlemen; it is the work of others."

Let us turn our eyes from so detestable an object, to another not less surprising, though of a quite different kind; where we shall behold a gentleman, arrived by long practice to that difficult attainment of possessing his soul in all conditions, in all accidents, whether of life or death, with moderation. This is the man that may truly be said to know himself, whom even assassination cannot surprise; to whom the passions are in such obedience, they never contend for sway, nor attempt to throw him from his guard. Mr. Harley, falling back in his chair, by the redoubled stroke that was given him, and seeing them busy about taking Guiscard, by whom he imagined himself killed, did not call or cry for help: but, getting up as well as he could of himself, applied his handkerchief to the wound, to stop the blood, and keep out the air, walking about the room till they had time to come to him, not complaining nor accusing, nor encouraging them to revenge him upon Guiscard; his countenance serene, unaltered; so that, from his own behaviour, all his friends, particularly his tenderest, Mr. St. John, hoped he was but slightly hurt. When Busiere, the surgeon, searched the wound, they were all surprised to find it so dangerous; the penknife was struck aslant and buried in the wound, which Mr. Harley himself took out, wiped, called for the handle, and said, "They belong to me." He asked "if the wound were

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of national vanity, "They may take notice in England, how good judges we are of men in France; and believe they have reason to be wary how they entertain any, whom the wisest prince on earth, than whom none sees farther into the merits of men, has determined to be worthless, and not fit to be employed."—Extracted by Mr. Nichols from the Negotiations of Mesnager.

mortal, as he had affairs to settle." Even in our incredulous age, we may term his escape a miracle: the blow was struck exactly upon his breast-bone, which broke the knife; had it been an inch lower, it had touched the *diaphragma*, and all the world could not have saved his life: or a nail's breadth deeper it would have reached his heart. I have heard it affirmed, "that, if one should attempt a thousand times at an imitation of Guiscard's design, without his rage and force, not once in that thousand times would it be probable that a life could escape the blow, as Mr. Harley's has done." He had a double deliverance, first from the knife striking upon the breast-bone, and then from its breaking there; he must else have infallibly been murdered by the repetition of the blow. Neither was the cure less doubtful; the contusion was more dangerous than the wound itself: about a week after, the bruised blood fell down, which held his life in suspense.* He had been ill for some time before, and was not as yet recovered.

* Boyer resents the dismissal of his countryman, Busiere, from the charge of attending Harley, and imputes the slowness of the cure to that circumstance. "It is observable, that, contrary to the usual custom, Mr. Busiere was not sent for any more to attend Mr. Harley, which, however, did not proceed from an ill opinion of his known abilities, either by Mr. Harley himself, or any of his honourable family; but only from the jealousy of a physician, who refused to consult with Mr. Busiere, though Mr. Green, Mr. Harley's chirurgeon in ordinary, earnestly desired his assistance. The report then went, that some fault was found with Mr. Busiere, for having made too great an incision when he laid the first apparel: but, whoever raised that report, it soon appeared that Mr. Busiere, who designed to have even enlarged the said incision at the next dressing, was in the right: the not doing of it having gone near to have cost Mr. Harley his life. For, not having yet fully recovered a late illness, the humours gathered with the extravasated blood, and keeping running that way, for above five weeks, his cure was rendered desperate."—*Political State of Great Britain*, Apr. 1711, p. 310.

As soon as Mr. Harley was dressed, he ordered the surgeon to take care of Monsieur de Guiscard; and was himself carried home in a chair, followed by the lamentations and prayers of the people for his recovery, who attended him to his own door with their sighs and sorrows.

The bold marquis, though subdued, was still untamed: his fury, despair, and desire of instant death, made him use his efforts to prevent the good intentions of the surgeon and the assistants. They were forced to keep him down by strength of hand, whilst his wounds were searched and dressed; after which, he was sent to Newgate, where he continued in the same violence of mind. He begged to die, he strove to die, by rubbing the plasters from his wounds; to prevent which, there were persons perpetually employed to watch on each side the bed.*

If we read his sentiments in his own Memoirs, we may find they were always disposed to violence. Speaking to those whom he would draw into a confederacy against the king, "That it was better to die once for all, than to die in a manner a thousand times a day, always at the mercy of men who made it their business to embitter their life, and make it insupportable." P. 8. In another place, "How can we better spend some few and uncertain days, which every moment are ended by some disease, by misfortune, or old age, than by making our name famous and immortal?" P. 14. And thus, "Pusillanimous men, who, for want of courage, dare not attempt anything at their peril, will never see an end of their misfortune." P. 46.

These being his avowed tenets, may give us

* Boyer insinuates that he refused to lie in the dirty and mean bed which was provided for him, and kept on his clothes for three days.

some light into a design so execrable, that it were sin to look into it with any other eyes but detestation. Monsieur de Guiscard was to reconcile himself to France; which could not probably be done, but by something more notorious than his disaffection. Upon his deathbed examination, he told the lords, "There was something horrible he had to tell them!—for which he ought to be torn in pieces!—something inconceivable!—exceeding all barbarity!" —There he stopped, as if for breath, a reanimation of spirits, or to recollect what he had to say. After a while, seeing he did not proceed, they reminded him to go on. He repeated those and many more such expressions. Being pressed to proceed, he fell into something very trifling, which he knew they knew already; said, "It was no matter—content—content"—meaning to die.

Upon their examination of him in Newgate, he seemed to boast his resolution and performance; bade them "judge what he was able to do in a good cause, had they thought fit to employ and trust him, since he could go so far in an ill one." The vanity of his nation kept him company to the last: he valued himself upon his intrepidity, his contempt of death, and thirst of honour, &c. The last time the lords were with him, he desired Mr. St. John's hand, and said, "*Pardonne, pardonne.*" Mr. St. John replied, "*Je vous pardonne—Dieu vous pardonne!*" —Guiscard repeating, "Content—content"—he became delirious.

The roughness of his nature seems to have hindered him from encouraging that remorse which approaching death might occasion; else we should doubtless have had disclosed the blackest scene that any age has shown. It is very well known the eager desire he had for some time expressed to see the queen alone; the pretence of that audience he

so earnestly importuned was, "To get his pension assured." He was of late often found in the antichamber, and at the back stairs. He generally carried a bottle of poison about him, supposed to answer the disappointment of some foreseen event. This, compared with his own words, and several letters from France and Holland at that time, mentioning it was expected they should hear of a *coup d'éclat en Angleterre*, makes it almost past doubt that he did design to kill the queen; * and failing of his attempt there, stabbed Mr. Harley, as by his own confession he would have done Mr. St. John, because they were the two important lives that gave dread and anguish to that monarch, who has so long and often been the terror of others.

The queen, all merciful and saintlike as she is, had herself the goodness (notwithstanding appearances were against him, in the supposition of his horrible intentions to destroy her) to appoint two surgeons and two physicians to attend him in Newgate, with whatever was befitting a man of family. This gracious treatment could depart only from a mind so conversant with heaven, so near of kindred, as that of our pious queen.

Her cares and prayers were the balm that healed Mr. Harley's wound. The honour that was done him by the address of parliament will never be forgotten; nor her majesty's gracious answer. It is remarkable, that when it was brought into the House of Lords, the Whigs all went out, except

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* Mr. St. John informed Swift, that the queen did not go to church, or see company, on the day of Guiscard's being arrested, although it was the anniversary of her accession. From this we may infer, either that the ministers believed her person in danger from Guiscard's machinations, or that they wished to impress such an opinion on the public.—See *Swift's Letter to Archbishop King*, 8th March 1710–11.

one, who raised a weak objection, "that Monsieur de Guiscard was not a papist convict."*

Notwithstanding the surgeons' and physicians' art and care, Monsieur de Guiscard died in Newgate. His wounds, of which he received four in the forepart of his body, were cured; the fifth was in his back, which, the surgeons deposed, was not mortal. The jury gave in their verdict, "That his bruises were the cause of his death." It appeared, upon the examination of Mr. Wilcox, the queen's messenger,† that it was he that wounded the marquis in the back, and gave him those bruises of which he died. Monsieur de Guiscard, in struggling with Wilcox, threw him against a window, which caused him to void above a quart of blood the same night.

His resolution, or rather obstinacy, continued to the last: he would not permit his wounds to be dressed, nor accepted of any nourishment but what was forced upon him: he made no profession of religion, had no show of remorse or contrition, nor desired the assistance of a priest.‡ He was pri-

* He was so termed in the address.

† A man of great personal strength, yet not able to secure Guiscard without recourse to severe violence.

‡ Boyer, whose account of this remarkable transaction we have frequently referred to, is extremely indignant at this affirmation, which, indeed, forms the chief ground of his charge of inaccuracy against this Narrative.

"To return to the assassin, it is to be observed, that, besides the several bruises, he received five considerable wounds, viz., two under each pap; one below the right side of the belly; another on the left hip; and the fifth in the back, near the left side: But this last being covered by his arms, that were tied behind, Mr. Busiere could not possibly take notice of it, and therefore dressed only, that day, the other four wounds. While he was performing his office, Mr. de Guiscard, who thought himself near his end, and began to feel the remorse of a guilty conscience, desired him to send for a priest. But Mr. Busiere told him, he was acquainted with none: his business was only to dress him, and if he wanted a priest he must apply to others. As soon as Mr. de Guiscard's

vately interred, by order from the court—a mercy no nation but ours would have conferred upon a spy, a traitor, and an assassin.

Is it not obvious to all England, what had been our distress, in the confusion wherein so long a run of mismanagement has plunged us, if heaven had permitted the knife of a barbarous foreigner to have robbed us of a minister, whose conduct, wise, steadfast, vigorous, extricates our affairs, and embroils the enemy? Does not the flourishing church of England owe him all things for her deliverance from presbytery and atheism; a miracle no less seasonable, than when she was assaulted by all the force of Rome? Were he not a sincere worshipper at our increasing altars, would he not reduce rather than multiply?* Is not even our gracious sovereign indebted to him, for scattering those persons from about her, whose excessive tyranny strove to ruin all those who aimed to come at the queen but by them? Does he not sacrifice his quiet to the good of his country, without enriching his own family with her treasure, or decking himself with her honours; though she has none but what, with pride and joy, she is ready to bestow upon him? Was not his blood (even now devoted to the restless genius of France) spilt in dread of his pursuits and

wounds were dressed, he was committed to the prison of this city, appointed for felons, traitors, and other criminals, called Newgate, whither he was carried under a strong guard."—To which the following note is added: "Yet the author of the Narrative before quoted has the assurance to affirm, p. 33, 'that his resolution, or rather obstinacy, continued to the last; he would not permit his wounds to be dressed, nor accepted of any nourishment but what was forced upon him: he made no confession of religion, had no show of remorse or contrition, nor desired the attendance of a priest;' which is downright falsity, as well as many other passages contained in that account."—*Political State of Great Britain*, for April 1711, Lond. 1711, p. 311.

* The act for building fifty new churches.

endeavours to reduce that monarch to humanity and reason? Is not his modesty so excessive, that he conceals, from those persons who have treated him as a traitor, the extent of his power, lest he should seem to insult their disgrace? Free from that false delicacy which so often makes people uneasy at what either the mistaken or our enemies say of us; his actions have their foundation on solid judgment, propped by a most extensive genius, unlimited foresight, and immoveable prudence. France records her Richelieu, Mazarin, and Louvois: we talk with veneration of the Cecils; but posterity shall boast of Harley, as a prodigy, in whom the spring is pure as the stream; not troubled by ingratitude or avarice, nor its beauty deformed by the feature of any vice. The coming age will envy ours a minister of such accumulated worth; they will see and know how happy we were. Why then should we ourselves be wilfully blind, or wilfully ignorant of it! Is it not his distress to be born among a people so divided? Could he in any other country have failed of universal love and veneration? How long shall our divisions make us the sport and proverb of the neighbouring nations? Monsieur Quillet, by the purity of his Latin, has diffused our character throughout the world; and when the curious would be informed of the genius of the British people, the learned refer to him: It is thought the most beautiful part of his Callipædia; and, however the spirit of the author may have suffered by the change, I will present it to the reader in the English translator's words: *

> "If then from Calais you design to land
> On England's vile, unhospitable strand,
> There you shall find a race of monstrous men,

* I have followed my predecessor, Mr. Nichols, in inserting Rowe's translation.

Where mangled princes strew the cyclops' den.
A false, ungrateful, and rebellious brood,
New from a slaughter'd monarch's sacred blood.
They break all laws, all fancies they pursue,
And follow all religions but the true.
All there are priests, each differently prays,
And worships heaven ten thousand different ways.
If by the mob the canting fool's admir'd,
The brother's gifted, and the saint inspired.
Hence the fanatics rave, and wildly storm,
Convert by pistol, and by pike reform.
Nor are th' enthusiasts so abhorrent grown
To holy ceremonious rites alone:
An Englishman on all extremes will run,
And by consent be wilfully undone.
If an opinion thwart what ancients wrote,
He catches it, and bosoms up the thought.
Alcides would his club as soon resign,
As he a darling heresy decline.
"Yet we must do the sons of England right:
Some stars shine through the horror of the night.
For navigation, and for skill renown'd,
In sailing the terraqueous globe around.
To them no shore's untried, no sea's unknown,
Where waves have murmur'd, and where winds have blown.
Typhis and Jason, who in Argo came,
Lay no pretensions to so just a fame,
As Ca'endish, Willoughby, and Drake's immortal name."

Is it not time to redeem our character, that the world, in applauding our courage, may no longer object our divisions? Though we disagree in religion; yet, for common good, we should, methinks, be glad to unite in politics. Our ceremonies may differ, but our essentials are the same; and to people of reason, one would imagine, there needed not much persuasion to join in those advantageous particulars, reputation and interest.

Parties break their force against one another, do the work of our foes, are weakened by perpetual animosities, hate their adversary at home much more strenuously than a foreign enemy, incapacitate

themselves from doing all the injury they should to France, all the good they ought to England. Our piques and distastes for trifles have run us up to frenzy; the world beholds the hatred and aversion among us as lunacy in our blood, incurable but by letting forth; they foresee and long for a civil war, to reduce us to misery and reason; they flatter themselves that our dissensions tend that way, and prophesy they can have no end but with our ruin.

It is ourselves only can disappoint the hopes of our enemies, and extricate ourselves. The very Mahometans claim our pity, for being misled by the grand impostor; and shall a fellow Christian be hated? Have we no arguments but bitterness and reproach? must we continue as violent against our neighbour at home, as brave in the field abroad? If we were not all Britons, or had different interests, something might be said for that eager desire of ruin, so conspicuous in the contending parties.

How ridiculous it appears to a reasonable man, who reflects how greatly our happy constitution is envied by our enemies, and how little valued or enjoyed by ourselves! We boast of liberty, and yet do all we can to enslave others to our opinions; meanwhile the common interest of the island is lost or forgotten, in the desire of gratifying our particular revenge and aversions.

We have now a queen and ministry of consummate piety, prudence, and abilities, who know the true interest of England, and will pursue it. The church is delivered from oppression and fears; religion secured, according to every Englishman's heart's desire. What should we next consider, but the interest of the body politic? Which way can that be so effectually carried on, as by calming our heats and animosities, by taking off the veil of prejudice

and party which so long has blinded us; to have every individual consider what would be for the good of the whole, and sincerely to give in to it? Were these measures faithfully pursued, France could never be formidable to England; nor the Protestant religion here be under any apprehension from the restless and encroaching spirit of the Roman.

THE

CONGRATULATORY SPEECH

OF

WILLIAM BROMLEY, Esq.,

SPEAKER OF THE HONOURABLE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

TO

THE RIGHT HON. ROBERT HARLEY, Esq.,

CHANCELLOR OF HER MAJESTY'S EXCHEQUER,

UPON HIS ATTENDING THE SERVICE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, ON THURSDAY, THE 26TH OF APRIL 1711; TOGETHER WITH THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER'S ANSWER.

[This Speech of the Speaker to Mr. Harley, with his Answer, were published by order of the House. I know no reason for their being considered as Swift's composition, excepting their being inserted in Mr. Nichols's excellent edition.]

Mercurii, 11 *Die Aprilis* 1711.

Resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*,

THAT when the Right Honourable Robert Harley, Esq., Chancellor of her Majesty's Exchequer, attends the service of this House, the Speaker do, in the name of this House, congratulate the said Mr. Harley's escape and recovery, from the barbarous

and villanous attempt made upon him by the Sieur de Guiscard.

Veneris, 27 *Die Aprilis* 1711.

Ordered,

That Mr. Speaker be desired to print his congratulatory Speech to Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, yesterday, with the Answer of Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer to the same.

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer,

When the barbarous and villanous attempt made upon you by the Sieur de Guiscard, a French Papist, was communicated to this House, they immediately declared they were most deeply affected to find such an instance of inveterate malice against you. And, observing how you have been treated by some persons, they concluded they had reason to believe, That your fidelity to her majesty, and zeal for her service, had drawn upon you the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction.

In this opinion they must be abundantly confirmed, since the lords and the queen have concurred with them.

Sir, If your fidelity to her majesty, and zeal for her service, could ever be doubted, and wanted any testimonials to prove them, you have now the most honourable, the most ample, and the most undeniable, that can be given; and after these, it would be an unpardonable presumption in me to imagine I could add to them, by saying anything of your faithful discharge of those great trusts you have been honoured with. To which your eminent abilities at first recommended you, and your distinguishing merits have since justified her majesty's wise choice.

Your very enemies, Sir, acknowledge this, by their unwearied and restless endeavours against your person and reputation.

God be thanked, they have been hitherto disappointed; and have not been able to accomplish what their inveterate, but impotent, malice had designed against both.

And may the same Providence, that has wonderfully preserved you from some unparalleled attempts; and that has raised you up to be an instrument of great good in a very critical juncture, when it was much wanted, continue still to preserve so invaluable a life, for the perfecting of what is so happily begun; that we may owe to your counsels, and to your conduct, (under her majesty,) the maintenance and firm establishment of our constitution in church and state.

These expectations, Sir, have filled this House with an inexpressible satisfaction for your escape and recovery, which thay have unanimously commanded me to congratulate. I do therefore, in the name of this House, congratulate your escape and recovery from the barbarous and villanous attempt made upon you by the Sieur de Guiscard.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer's Answer.

Mr. Speaker,

The honour this House has done me, which you have expressed in so obliging a manner, is a sufficient reward for the greatest merit. I am sure, it so far exceeds my deserts, that all I can do or suffer for the public, during the whole course of my life, will still leave me in debt to your goodness.

By the acceptance you have vouchsafed my poor service, how noble an encouragement, worthy of you, has this House given all our fellow-subjects, to exert themselves in the glorious cause of preserving the constitution in church and state, and in loyalty to the best of sovereigns!

This, without doubt, was your view; and this may convince all who are not designedly obstinate, how dear the true interest of the nation is to this Honourable Assembly.

Sir, The undeserved favour I have received this day is deeply imprinted in my heart; and whenever I look upon my breast, it will put me in mind of the thanks due to God, my duty to the queen, and that debt of gratitude and service I must always owe to this Honourable House, to you, Mr. Speaker, and to every particular member.

THE

REASONS

WHICH INDUCED

HER MAJESTY

TO CREATE THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

ROBERT HARLEY, ESQ.,

A PEER OF GREAT BRITAIN.

MAY 24, 1711.

It was objected by Harley's enemies, that this patent was drawn up in a more elaborate and enlarged style of encomium than was consistent with the brevity and dignity of a royal deed. It was also insinuated, that he gave way to an unusual gratification of personal vanity in having it printed and dispersed. There is every reason to think, that Swift was consulted in composing an instrument to which Harley attached so much importance.

QUANTAM ab æquô Principe gratiam promereri potuit Vir illustri et perantiquâ gente ortus, ingenio ad magna natus, ad majora eruditione omnigena institutus, diuturno rerum civilium usu exercitus, in diversissimis administrandæ Reipublicæ muneribus

summa cum laude, et suo satis cum periculo versatus: Tantam perdilectus et perquam fidelis Consiliarius noster Robertus Harley merito a nobis consequi debet, Hic, unus à frequentissimo communium consilio per tres continuo vices, orator evocatus est, immo unus, et illam Cathedram tenuit, et nobis eodem tempore ab Epistolis fuit, utrique haud quaquam impar provincia, officia enim adeo inter se visa dissidere, illi facile erat conciliare qui hominum animos temperare atque inflectere pari prudentia et authoritate potuit, qui populi jura sic tueri novit ut nihil interim Majestati Regiæ decederet, quique penitus intellexit quam pulchre consistere posset cum Libertate Imperium. Gemino hoc munere decurso, cum respirasset paululum, Ærarii nostri curam Quœstor sustinuit, late grassanti peculatus pesti coercendæ, novisque ad alterum orbem commercii instituendis consuluit et mirè sagax laborantibus fisci rebus tam opportune nuper succurrit ut liberatam ab eo fidem publicam laudet Senatus gaudeant cives nos etiam (a communibus enim commodis nostra nunquam devellimus) haud parum lœtemur, quare viro de nobis nostrisque omnibus præclare merito honores, et ipsi et ipsius genti jam diu debitos decernimus. Ad hoc et nostra nos voluntas ducit, et totius Britanniæ vox hortatur. Quem enim ob sua in nos fidissima studia perditorum hominum odiis obnoxium commemorant, quem a nefarii parricidæ furore servatum gratulantur Regni nostri ordines, is ne frustra servatus sit, admonent. Eorum lubentur favemus votis, qui ad nos tam honesto utriusque Domus Senatoriæ suffragio commendatus accedit, suum inter proceres, quibus jampridem nobili majorum sanguine et multijuga generis serie conjunctus est, habeat locum, et ab illa urbe ubi egregie vigent literæ literarum ipse sciens et literatorum fautor, titulos suos feliciter fausteque auspicetur.

Sciatis, &c.

Whatever favour may be merited from a just prince by a man born of an illustrious and very ancient family, fitted by nature for great things, and by all sorts of learning qualified for greater; constantly employed in the study of state affairs, and with the greatest praise, and no small danger, exercising variety of offices in the government; so much does our well-beloved and very faithful councillor, Robert Harley, deserve at our hands; he who, in three successive parliaments, was unanimously chosen speaker; and, at the same time that he filled the chair, was our principal secretary of state; in nowise unequal to either province. Places, so seemingly disagreeing, were easily reconciled by one who knew how, with equal weight and address, to moderate and govern the minds of men; one who could preserve the right of the people, without infringing the prerogative of the crown; and who thoroughly understood how beautifully government could consist with liberty. This double task being performed; after some respite, he bore the weight of our exchequer as chancellor, and thereby prevented the farther plundering of the nation; and also provided for the settling of a new trade to the South Seas; and (by rescuing public credit) so opportunely relieved the languishing condition of the treasury, as to deserve thanks from the parliament, blessings from the citizens, and from us (who never separate our own interests from the public) no small approbation. Therefore we decree to the man that has so eminently deserved of us and of all our subjects, those honours which were long since due to him and his family; being induced thereto by our own good pleasure, and the suffrage of all Great Britain; for we take it as an admonition, that he should not in vain be preserved, whom the states of our realm have testified to be obnoxious to the hatred of wicked

men, upon account of his most faithful services to us, and whom they have congratulated upon his escape from the rage of a flagitious parricide.* We gladly indulge their wishes, that he, who comes thus recommended to us by so honourable a vote of both houses of parliament, should have his seat among the peers, to many of whom his family has been long allied; and that he, who is himself learned, and a patron of learning, should happily take his title from that city, where letters so gloriously flourish.† Now know ye, &c.

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* Guiscard. † Oxford.

A

LEARNED COMMENT

UPON

DR. HARE'S EXCELLENT SERMON,

PREACHED (SEPT. 9, 1711) BEFORE

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH,

ON THE

SURRENDER OF BOUCHAIN;

BY AN ENEMY TO PEACE.

ET MULTIS UTILE BELLUM.

FIRST PRINTED FOR JOHN MORPHEW, IN 1711.

DR. FRANCIS HARE, afterwards, successively, Dean of Worcester and St. Paul's, and Bishop of St. Asaph and Chichester, was, during the war in Flanders, Chaplain-General to the Queen's forces. Being appointed to preach before the Duke of Marlborough and his army, upon a day of thanksgiving, for passing the enemy's lines at Bouchain, he was naturally led to launch forth upon the objects of the war, and the hazard of their being disappointed by a premature peace. For this he was chastised by the following comment, written by Mrs. Manley, under the

inspection of Swift, as appears from the following passages of his Journal:

"I have got a set of Examiners; and five pamphlets, which I have either written or contributed to, except the best, which is the 'Vindication of the Duke of Marlborough,' and is entirely of the author of the Atalantis."—*Journal to Stella*, October 22, 1711.

"Comment on Hare's Sermon, by the same woman; only hints sent to the printer from Presto, to give her."—Ibid. Nov. 3.

Judging, however, from internal evidence, it would appear that Swift's concern in this tract is much greater than in that upon the subject of Guiscard. The reader may compare it with the "Preface to the Bishop of Sarum's Introduction," to which, in many passages, it is not inferior in poignancy.

Dr. Hare was the author of some pamphlets on the war, in which the conduct of the Duke of Marlborough, and of the allies, was vindicated against the assaults of Swift. These are entitled, "The Allies and the late Ministry defended, in Four Parts;" "The Negotiations for Peace considered, in Letters to a Tory Member;" "The Barrier Treaty Vindicated."

—o—

HAVE been so well entertained by reading Dr. Hare's sermon, preached before the Duke of Marlborough and the army, in way of thanksgiving for passing the lines and taking Bouchain, that I cannot forbear giving part of my thoughts thereupon to the public. If a colonel had been to preach at the head of his regiment, I believe he would have made just such a sermon; which, before I begin with, I must beg leave to consider the preface, and that stale topic in the publisher, of "printing a discourse without the author's leave, by a copy got from a friend; being himself so modest, that he would by no means hear of printing what was drawn up in so much haste." If the thing be not worth publishing, either the author is a fool, or his friend a knave. Besides, the apology seems very needless for one that has so often been complimented upon his productions; of which we have seen several without either art or

care, though published with this famous doctor's consent. A good argument, indeed, is not the worse for being without art or care; but an ill one is nothing without both. If plainness and honesty made amends for every hasty foolish composition, we should never have an end, and every dunce that blotted paper would have the same plea. But the good doctor's zeal for the continuation of the war must atone for the rest of his defects. His politics and his divinity seem to be much of a size; there is no more of the last in his sermon than what is to be found in the text; he is so great an enemy to a partition, that he scorns to divide even that.

He begins, p. 62,* "I cannot but think that one of the properest acknowledgments to God, for the manifest tokens we receive of his good providence, is to consider their natural tendency, and what is the true use which he has put into our power to make of them." May we not very well query whether this be sense or truth? The properest acknowledgments to God, for the manifest tokens, &c., is to offer him thanks and praise, and obey his laws.

P. 63. "Persevere bravely in the just and necessary war we are engaged in, till we can obtain such a peace, as the many successes he has given us naturally lead to, and, by the continuance of the divine favour, must end in, if we be content to wait his leisure, and are not, by our impatience and misgiving fears, wanting to ourselves." At this rate, when must we expect a peace? May we not justly inquire, whether it be God's or the Duke of Marlborough's leisure he would have us wait? He is there in an army well paid, sees nothing but plenty, nay profuseness, in the great officers, and riches in

* These references are borrowed from Mr. Nichols's edition, in which they are stated to be adapted to the bishop's works, 4 vols. 8vo, 1746.

the general. Profuseness, when they every day, in their turns, receive the honour of his grace's company to dinner with them. At that sumptuous table which his grace once a week provides for himself and them, the good doctor never considers what we suffer at home, or how long we shall be able to find them money to support their magnificence. I should think the queen and ministry, next under God, the best judges what peace we ought to make. If by our impatience he meant the army, it was needless and absurd; if he meant our impatience here at home, being so far removed from the scene, and in quite another view, he can be no judge of that.

P. 64. "One would think a people, who by such a train of wonderful successes, were now brought to the very banks of Jordan, could not be so fearful as to stop there, or doubt with themselves whether or no they should try to pass the river, (quere, Senset or Scheldt ?) and get possession of the land which God had promised them; that they could with their own eyes, take a view of it, (applied to Picardy,) and behold it was exceeding good," &c. Our case and the Israelites is very different. What they conquered they got for themselves; we take a view of the land, as they did, and "behold it to be exceeding good," but good for others. If Joshua had spent many years in conquering the Amorites, (with the loss of infinite blood and treasure,) and then delivered the land over to the Gibeonites, the Israelites might have had good reason to murmur; and that has been our case.

Ibid. "It seems incredible, that men should for many years together struggle with the greatest difficulties, and successfully go through innumerable dangers, in pursuit of a noble end, an end worthy of all the pains and trouble they are at; and yet lose their courage as they gain ground," &c. Though

this be a falsity; yet to lose courage as we gain ground may very probably happen, if we squander our courage by the yard, and gain ground by the inch.

Ibid. "Of all the virtues human nature would aspire to, constancy seems to be that it is least made for. A steady pursuit of the same end, for any long time together, has something in it that looks like immortality," (hath not this flight something in it that looks like nonsense ?) "and seems to be above the reach of mortal man." (How does a steady pursuit look like immortality? If it looks like immortality, it certainly seems to be above the reach of mortal man.) The "earth we live on, the air we breathe, the nourishment we take, everything about us, is by nature subject to continual change; our bodies themselves are in a perpetual flux, and not a moment together the same as they were. What place, then, can there be for a constant steady principle of action amidst so much inconstancy?" If these reasons were true, it would be impossible not to be inconstant. With this old beaten trash of a flux, he might go on a hundred pages on the same subject, without producing anything new: it is a wonder we had not the grave observation, "That nothing is constant but inconstancy." What does all this end in? His first heat and edge shows us indeed a flux of what we did not expect.

P. 66. "And though the end we aim at be the same it was, and certainly nearer." This puts me in mind of a divine, who, preaching on the day of judgment, said, "There was one thing he would be bold to affirm, That the day of judgment was nearer now than ever it was since the beginning of the world." So the war is certainly nearer an end to-day than it was yesterday, though it does not end these twenty years.

Ibid. "Such fickle, inconstant, irresolute creatures are we in the midst of our bravest resolutions. When

we set out, we seem to look at what we are aiming at through that end of the perspective that magnifies the object, and it brings it nearer to us; but, when we are got some way, before we are aware we turn the glass, and, looking through the little end, what we are pursuing seems to be at a vast distance, and dwindled almost into nothing." This is strange reasoning. Where does his instrument-maker live? We may have the same constancy, the same desire to pursue a thing, and yet not the same abilities. For example, in hunting, many accidents happen; you grow weary, your horse falls lame, or in leaping a hedge throws you: you have the same reason to pursue the game, but not the same ability.

P. 67. "Their zeal, perhaps, flames at first; but it is the flame of straw, it has not strength to last. When the multitude once begin to be weary and indifferent, how easily are they then seduced into false measures! how readily do they give into suspicions against those who would encourage them to persevere, while they are fond of others, who, to serve themselves, fall in with their complaints, but, at the bottom, mean nothing but their own interest!" How base and false soever this reproach be, I have set it almost at length, that I may not be charged with unfair quotation. By the company the doctor keeps, and the patrons he has chosen, I should think him an undoubted judge when people mean their own interest, but that I know, conversing only on one side generally gives our thoughts the same turn; just as the jaundice makes those that have it think all things yellow. This writer is prejudiced, and looks upon the rest of the world to be as self-interested as those persons from whom he has taken his observation. But, if he means the present ministry, it is certain they could find their own interest in continuing the war as well as other people; their

capacities are not less, nor their fortunes so great, neither need they be at a loss how to follow in a path so well beaten. Were they thus inclined, the way is open before them; the means that enriched their predecessors gave them pretence to continue their power, and made them almost necessary evils to the state, are now no longer a secret. Did their successors study their own interest with the same zeal as they do that of the public, we should not have the doctor in these agonies for fear of a peace; things would be then as he would have them; it would be no longer a flame of straw, but a solid fire, likely to last as long as his poor countrymen had any materials to feed it. But I wonder he would talk of those who mean their own interest; in such an audience, especially before those "who fall in with their complaints," unless he had given it quite another turn, and bestowed some of his eloquence in showing, what he really thinks, that nothing in nature is so eligible as self-interest, though purchased at the price of a lasting war, the blood and treasure of his fellow-subjects, and the weal of his native country.

P. 68. "This is a misfortune, which free assemblies, and popular or mixed governments, are almost unavoidably exposed to; and it is for this reason, so few nations have ever steadily pursued, for any long time, the measures at first resolved on, were they never so right and just; and it is for the same reason that a single power seldom fails at long run to be too hard for a confederacy." A very good argument for this war; a good overture and warning, to make a general for life. It is an excellent panegyric upon arbitrary power; at this rate, the French king is sure to get the better at last. This preacher must certainly be an admirable judge of popular assemblies, by living in an army. Such

poor writers get a rote and common place of talking by reading pamphlets, and from thence presume to make general observations upon government, and set up for statesmen. If the Duke of Marlborough be Moses, what promised land is he bringing us to, unless this sermon be preached only to the Dutch? He may have promised them land, and they him something else, and both been as good as their words. In his allegory of the people brought out of Egypt, does the doctor mean our army? The parallel must then be drawn to make the war last forty years, or else it can be no parallel: we may easily see how near the comparison grows. Moses was accused by certain Israelites; "Is it a small thing," say they, "that thou hast brought us out of a land that flowed with milk and honey, to kill us in the wilderness, except thou make thyself altogether a prince over us?" Hath the Duke of Marlborough been suspected of any such design? Moses was wroth, and said unto the Lord, "Respect not thou their offering: I have not taken one ass from them, neither have I hurt one of them." * And to the same purpose Samuel, "Whose ox have I taken? or whose ass have I taken? or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed? or of whose hand have I received any bribe to blind mine eyes with? and I will restore it you!" † Does the British Moses speak thus to the people? is there any sort of agreement between them? Nor are we sure of God's commands to go up against the Amorites, p. 69, as the Israelites were; and we have fifty times more reason to murmur. They were carried from the wilderness "into a land flowing with milk and honey;" we from such a land into the wilderness, that is, poverty and misery, and are like to be kept

* Num. xvi. 15. † 1 Sam. xii. 3.

in the wilderness till this generation and the next too are consumed, by mortgages, anticipations, &c.

P. 71. Where the doctor says, "The country itself was much too narrow for them," he must certainly mean the Dutch, who never think their frontiers can be too much extended.

The doctor tells us, p. 72, "The justice and necessity of our cause is little short of the force of a command." Did God command to fight, because the chaplain-general will have no peace? He asks, "What is bidding us go on, if our successes are not?" At this rate, whenever any new success is gained, or a town taken, no peace must be made. The whole exhortation against peace, which follows, is very proper for the chaplain of an army; it looks like another Essay of the Management of the War. "These successes have generally been so much wanted, and so little expected." If we have been ten years at this vast expence, getting successes that we could not expect, we were mad to begin this war, which hath ruined us with all this success. But why this acclamation? Is taking one small town such great success as points out to us the finger of God? Who is his God? I believe the general has no little share in his thoughts, as well as the present ministry, though upon a quite different consideration. "The clouds have never this war thickened more, or looked blacker, than this year: things looked so black on every side, as not to leave us the faintest glimpse of light. We apprehended nothing less than the dissolution of the alliance." Whatever the doctor may be for a preacher, he has proved but an indifferent prophet. The general and army may be obliged to him for the dissipation of these clouds, though the ministry are not. Were they the cause that such clouds gathered, "as made him fear an universal storm, which could no way be fenced

against?" To hear him run on in praise of the wonders of this campaign, one would scarce believe he was speaking to those very persons who had formerly gained such memorable victories, and taken towns of so much greater importance than Bouchain. Had the French no lines before? I thought Mons, Lisle, &c., had been once esteemed considerable places. But this is his youngest child: he does, like most mothers, when they are past the hopes of more; they doat upon the youngest, though not so healthy nor praiseworthy as the rest of the brethren. Is it our fault, that "three of the princes in alliance with us resolved to recall their troops?" p. 76. We brought our *quotas*, if our allies did not. By whose indulgence was it, that some of them have not been pressed more closely upon that head, or rather have been left to do as they please? It is no matter how hard a bargain people pretend to make, if they are not tied to the performance.

P. 75. "If the enemy are stronger than they were," how are we so near our great hopes, the promised land? The affectation of eloquence, which carries the doctor away by a tide of words, makes him contradict himself, and betray his own argument. Yet, by all those expressions, p. 75, we can only find, that whatever success we have must be miraculous; he says, "we must trust to miracles for our success," which, as I take it, is to tempt God: though, p. 77, he thinks, "the most fearful cannot doubt of God's continuance." We have had miraculous success these nine years by his own account; and this year, he owns, "we should have been all undone, without a new miracle; black clouds, &c., hanging over our heads." And why may not our sins provoke God to forsake us, and bring the black clouds again? greater sins than our inconstancy! avarice, ambition, disloyalty, corruption, pride, drunkenness, gaming,

profaneness, blasphemy, ignorance, and all other immoralities and irreligion! These are certainly much greater sins; and, whether found in a court or in a camp, much likelier to provoke God's anger than inconstancy.

Ibid. "If we have not patience to wait till he has finished, by gradual steps, this great work, in such a manner as he in his infinite wisdom shall think fit." I desire the doctor would explain himself upon the business of gradual steps, whether three and twenty years longer will do, or what time he thinks the general and himself may live: I suppose he does not desire his gradual steps should exceed their date, as fond as he seems of miracles. I believe he is willing enough they should be confined to his grace's life and his own.

What does he mean, p. 78, by the natural and moral consequences that must lead us? If those moral consequences are consequences upon our morals, they are very small. "Whatever reason there can be for putting an end to the war but a good one, was a stronger reason against beginning it." Right! so far we allow. "And yet those very reasons, that make us in so much haste to end it, show the necessity there was for entering into it." I am in mighty hope to get out of a squabble, and therefore I had reason to get into it; generally the contrary is true. "What condition should we have now been in, had we tamely let that prodigious power settle and confirm itself without dispute?" It could never settle and confirm itself but by a war.

P. 79. "Did we not go into the war in hopes of success? The greatest argument for going on with the war is, that we may have more success." According to the doctrine laid down by our author, we must never be inclined to peace till we lose a battle: every victory ought to be a motive to continue the

war. Upon this principle, I suppose, a peace was refused after the battle of Ramilies.

Ibid. "How can we doubt that we shall not still succeed, or that an enemy that grows every day weaker and weaker," &c. The doctor's zeal overbears his memory: just now the enemy was stronger than ever.

P. 80. "If we consider that our strength is from God," &c. Though all men ought to trust in God; yet our Saviour tells us, we ought to regard human means: and in the point before us, we are told, "That a king going forth to war against another king, sitteth down first, and consulteth whether he be able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh against him with twenty thousand; or else while the other is yet a great way off, he sendeth an embassage, and desireth conditions of peace."* Our Saviour was a preacher of peace; "Peace I leave with you; my peace I give unto you," &c.† But the doctor chuses rather to drive on furiously with Jehu. He answers to the question, "Is it peace?" as that king did to the horsemen, "What hast thou to do with peace? Get thee behind me." He saith, "Our ingratitude and impenitence, may defeat the surest prospects we have." May we not ask him, whose ingratitude? As to impenitence, I think this paragraph is the only one wherein he vouchsafes, and that but very slightly, in his whole sermon, to remind the people of repentance and amendment; but leaves a subject "so little suited to a day of joy," p. 81, to encourage them to "go on to obtain the end toward which they have made so many happy steps." We differ about that end; some desire peace, others war, that so they may get money and power. It is the interest of some to be in action, others to be at rest: some people clap their finger upon one point,

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* Luke xiv. 31, 32. † John xiv. 27.

and say that alone can be a good peace; we say there be many sorts of good peace, of all which we esteem the queen and ministry to be the best judges. The doctor tells us, "Our sins may force us to put an ill end to the war." He should explain what he calls an ill end; I am apt to think, he will think nothing good that puts an end to it, since he saith, "Vengeance may affect not only us, but generations yet unborn." That they have taken care of already. We have pretty well mortgaged posterity, by the expences of this devouring war: and must we never see an end to it, till there is not an enemy left to contend with? for so our author would intimate. In what a condition must we expect to be, long before that? It is very happy for the nation, that we do not lie at the mercy of this gentleman; that his voice is not necessary toward the great end we pant after, the unloading of our burden, and the mitigation of our taxes. A just and necessary war is an ostentatious theme, and may bear being declaimed on. Let us have war; what have we to do with peace? We have beaten our enemy; let us beat him again. God has given us success; he encourages us to go on. Have we not won battles and towns, passed the lines, and taken the great Bouchain; what avails our miseries at home; a little paltry wealth, the decay of trade, increase of taxes, dearness of necessaries, expence of blood, and lives of our countrymen? Are there not foreigners to supply their places? have not the loss of so many brave soldiers been offered to the legislature as a reason for calling in such numbers of poor Palatines,* as it were to fill up the chasm of war, and atone for desolation among our subjects? If we continue thus prodigal of our blood and treasure, in a few years we shall have as little of the one as the

* See Vol. III.

other left: and our women, if they intend to multiply, must be reduced, like the Amazons, to go out of the land, or take them husbands at home of those wretched strangers whom our piety and charity relieved. Of the natives there will be scarce a remnant preserved; and thus the British name may be endangered once more to be lost in the German.

Were it not for fear of offending the worthy doctor, I should be tempted to compare his sermon with one that some time since made so much noise in the world;* but I am withheld by the consideration of its being so universally condemned, nay prosecuted, on one side. Perhaps the chaplain-general will not like the parallel; there may found the same heat, the same innuendoes, upon different subjects, though the occasion be not so pressing. What necessity was there of preaching up war to an army, who daily enrich themselves by the continuation of it? Does he not think, loyalty and obedience would have been a properer subject? To have exhorted them to a perseverance in their duty to the queen, to prepare and soften their minds, that they may receive with resignation, if not applause, whatever her majesty shall think fit to transact. The doctor, without suspicion of flattery, might very well have extolled their great actions, and congratulated with them upon the peace we are likely to enjoy; by which they will be at leisure to reap the harvest of their blood and toil, take their rest at home, and be relieved from the burden and danger of a cruel war. And as our gratitude will be ever due to them for delivering us from our distant enemy the French, so shall we have reason to bless whoever are the authors of peace to the distressed nations, by which we may be freed from those nearer and much more formidable enemies, discontent and poverty at home.

* That of Sacheverell.

A NEW

VINDICATION

OF

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH;

IN ANSWER TO

A PAMPHLET,

LATELY PUBLISHED,

CALLED

BOUCHAIN;

OR,

A Dialogue between the Medley ana the Examiner.

FIRST PRINTED FOR JOHN MORPHEW, IN 1711.

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THIS is another of Mrs. Manley's compositions under our author's direction.—"The Vindication of the Duke of Marlborough is *entirely* of the author of the Atalantis."—*Journal to Stella*, 22d October. Swift repeats the same assertion on the 3d November. There is, therefore, every reason to believe, that our author had but a slight concern in this virulent attack upon the Duke of Marlborough.

WAS always satisfied of the stupidity and disingenuity of the author who called himself "The Medley;" but never till now so thoroughly convinced of his assurance. He (or one who personates him) appears, in a little book called "Bouchain," as if he were in close conference and great intimacy with the Examiner; where, according to the unfair manner of modern dialogue, he reserves all the wit and reasoning for himself, and makes the poor Examiner one of the silliest, dullest rogues, that ever pretended to speak or hear of politics: nay, he has even treated him worse than the real Medley did; who, though hired by the party to call him names by the week, had still so much modesty not to take away his understanding, though he did his integrity. But here he is made just as stupid as was necessary to introduce all the fine things that are thought fit to be said of this campaign; and is directed to ask those questions, which none that reads and lives in any part of England can be supposed to be ignorant of, on purpose to heighten the glory of the general, and abuse the capacities of the present ministry. This method of his seems to be copied from that great genius and champion of their cause, the Observator; and our Examiner acts the part of his countryman Roger, which, how agreeable to the spirit and sense of the Examiner, may be easily judged from his writings, which have met with a general approbation for their wit and learning.

But, leaving the falseness and improbability of the diction, I shall only consider the malice and design of this *boute-feu*, that would set the people on flame, and advance the general to a height where none had ever been hoisted before, only for the bare consequences that attend his being at the head of an army

so often victorious, so well paid and encouraged, with no enemies in view but those whom it was familiar to them to overcome, and who, though superior in number, (as, indeed, they were,) yet are wholly dispirited by continued losses, and at present restrained by the positive commands of their monarch; who has given it in charge to Monsieur Villars, not to venture the army but upon manifest advantages; so that nothing might be left to fortune, which had appeared so contrary to them of late, and seems to have so great a hand in the rise and fall of empires, and that period which is set to human glory.

This new Medley would bespeak our compassion for his hero, by telling of "the hard usage he has met with, and the sufficient reason he has had to be disgusted; his scandalous manner of treatment from the Examiner and his party; for," he says, "he is sensible the usage he gave him was not wholly from himself." And again, "That the Duke of Marlborough is divested of all interest and authority, both at home and in the army, whom so much pains have been taken to mortify, that he might either in discontent throw up his command, or continue in it without honour; whom we laboured to make the mark of public hatred; as if it were impossible for liberty and gratitude to consist together, and men were to be ill used for no other reason but because they could not be used so well as they deserve." And farther, "Your friends may use the Duke of Marlborough as ill as they please; but let them be assured in the end, this will certainly turn upon themselves; and the time will come, when it will be as safe to speak truth of the present ministry, as it is now to belie the old! and then, my friend, you may hear farther from me." Who, after this, would not conclude the Duke of Marlborough had been turned out of all, his estate confiscated, and

himself under the most rigid sentence? Nothing less should have provoked this audacious person to have taken such liberty of speech, and been guilty of such threatenings against the persons the queen is pleased to honour and trust. Yet, that we may examine things more coolly than this incendiary; what hardships has this great man to complain of? I believe we shall scarce find any precedent among the Romans, that their generals abroad ever thought themselves disobliged, upon the removal of a quæstor at home, or the changing one secretary for another; and yet this is the height of that discontent they so much complain against. The queen, who seems directed by heaven, as a reward for her piety, in the choice of her ministers and officers, did herself set the Duke of Marlborough at the head of her army; she knew his long experience in military affairs; that he had run through all the several degrees of service, and either had a genius for war, or nothing. No man ever entered upon his command with greater encouragement; the love and smiles of his sovereign, the good wishes of the people, and if not the personal love of the soldiers, yet the hatred they had for the enemy, and their sufferings during the late peace, gave them a double edge to war, and made them gain such glorious victories, which all must own were got by the bravery of the English. Their personal valour proved of use, when neither genius in the general nor extraordinary conduct was required; though none will dispute his excelling in either; it has chanced that our greatest victories have been obtained more by the courage of the soldiers than the *finesse* of the commander; yet he has reaped all the advantage. Is he not the richest and greatest subject in Christendom? Has there not been a more than ordinary application, since the troops under his command first took the field, to supply

them with everything that was necessary? Whoever of her majesty's subjects were left unpaid, care was taken that money should not be wanting for the war in Flanders. Even upon the change of ministry, it was almost the first act of power in the new, to borrow money to send to the army under the Duke of Marlborough's command. He was so far from being "divested of all authority both at home and abroad," that there was not any change in what related to his grace's family, save the golden key; which, after long waiting, was thought necessary to be bestowed upon a person, who would not think herself grown too great for the indispensable attendance of the place. The queen, nay the new ministers, used his grace with the same goodness and confidence, in relation to his charge, as the former did. What occasion was there for discontent? Did he ask any favour, and was refused it? Had not her majesty forgiven, nay forgot, that supreme mark of arrogance in the Duke of Marlborough, when he durst show himself disobliged at her giving away one regiment, without first obtaining his leave as general?* Was there any remembrance, but in his own thoughts, of all that had been done by his party, to perpetuate his command? If he was really disgusted, because one of his sons-in-law,† and the father of another,‡ were removed; how ungrateful and undutiful was that behaviour to the person that had so wonderfully raised him; to a sovereign, who had honoured him with such superlative marks of her favour! It is possible he might only seem discontented, to please his family, though, it has been shown, without reason; to which they interpreted his going to Blenheim just

* Referring to the dispute about the Earl of Essex's regiment. See Vol. III.

† The Earl of Sunderland.

‡ The Earl of Godolphin.

before the queen's birth-day, from whence he returned the day after; as if he purposely chose to omit paying his duty and respects upon so remarkable an occasion.

But what mortifications, what hardships, are these which our author complains of? Was his commission limited? had he not power to advance or retreat? was he forbidden to besiege or fight? was he commanded to take no steps but what were directed from above? wherein was he divested of his authority? when was this barbarous usage? was there any person hired to assassinate his fame, or take away his life? what conspiracy, what confederacy, to make criminals accuse him? did any of his enemies tamper with Monsieur de Guiscard, and offer him his life, pardon, and money, to lay his villany upon the Duke? Had the persons here in power a mind that his designs this campaign should miscarry, how easy would it have been for them to have effectually disappointed them, and without being discovered! An artful hand can make more wonderful, though concealed movements. But, instead of such usage, has he not been supplied with all possible vigour? was not a young general * sent off, that the Duke of Marlborough might have no occasion of discontent, nor appearance for complaint? were not his soldiers flushed with many victories, eager and impatient to be led on to more? did he not very well know, as I have said before, that Monsieur Villars durst not fight him, though he had greater numbers than the duke, since the king had forbidden his venturing his army without evident advantages? are not the French dispirited and overawed by the superior genius of the English, by whom they have been so often vanquished? is it then such a wonder, after all the glorious victories the Duke of Marl-

* The Duke of Ormond.

borough has obtained, that, with the same fortune, the same cause, the same army, and against the same enemy, his grace has added one inferior fortress to his greater conquests? are the Senset and the Scheldt more formidable rivers than the Danube or the Rhine? are only passing the lines near Bouchain more wonderful than beating the French in their lines near Brabant? or have our former campaigns been so barren of great actions, that we need so much cry up the passing of two rivers and one morass, where none durst oppose them; as if the general's glory were never consummate till now; or as if indeed he could have done less, except he had been resolved to do nothing, which could scarce have been, with an army so full of ardour to fight? these flights of joy, upon so small an occasion, seem to me just as reasonable as if some great conqueror should land in England, beat all her armies, and take London in one campaign; and yet reserve his triumphs and the people's acclamations for the next, only upon the taking of Islington.*

Whether this action, in respect to those the Duke of Marlborough had performed before, deserves to be valued at that height our author carries it, may be gathered from what Sir W. Temple says: "In May 1676, the King of France sent the Duke of Orleans to besiege Bouchain, with some part of his troops, being a small though strong place, considerable for its situation to the defence of the Spanish Netherlands. The king, with the strength of his army, posted himself so advantageously, as to hinder the Prince of Orange from being able to relieve it, or to fight without disadvantage. The armies continued some days facing one another, and several times drawing out in

* Yet, with great deference to Mrs. Manley's better opinion, most military men have thought that the skill displayed by Marlborough in the exploit of Bouchain, rendered it one of his most remarkable actions.

order to battle, which neither of them thought fit to begin. Bouchain was surrendered the eighth day of the siege." Behold the same circumstance, attended with the same conquest, differing only in the number of days, in which the disadvantage lies, by many, on his grace's side!

I can never believe the Duke of Marlborough will think himself obliged to the author of this paper, for representing him as "a mortified person, and one divested of all authority both at home and abroad:" no more than I do imagine that his grace can, in his own nature, be undutiful to that power that has raised him; however accidentally he might once be wanting in that respect he owed the queen, in the business of the regiment belonging the late Earl of Essex. Nor, when I remember how much he did formerly for conscience sake, and the interest of the Church of England, can I persuade myself he will now engage against it. How seasonably did he decline King James's service, when the papists and dissenters were united in interests to destroy the church; King James, to whom the Duke of Marlborough was engaged by the highest gratitude! He had saved his life in the Gloucester frigate, and honoured his grace's family so far as to mingle his own royal blood with it. Did not the Duke of Marlborough forego the interests of his sister and her children, his nephews and nieces, that he was so fond of before, for the good of his country, and the security of the Protestant religion? was he not contriving to deliver up the King to the Prince of Orange,* if the design had not been pre-

* "The night before he left London, a conspiracy was formed by some of his chief officers to seize his person, and to deliver him into the hands of the Prince of Orange. The Earl of Rochester, the Lord Churchill, the Bishop of London, [Dr. Henry Compton,] Sir George Hewitt, with several others, met at Mr. Hatton Compton's lodgings, in St. Alban's Street. After a

vented? and did he not withdraw himself from his benefactor, to serve against him under his greatest enemy; protesting in his letter to the king, "That his desertion from his majesty proceeded from no other cause than the inviolable dictates of conscience, and a high and necessary concern for his religion, with which he was instructed that nothing could come in competition?" * Did the duke do all this for the

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long debate concerning the means of serving, to the best purpose, the Prince of Orange, it was at length resolved, that Rochester should attend the king to Salisbury, to betray his councils to the prince; that Churchill should endeavour to secure the person of James, which could best be done, when Maine was staff-officer on duty. Should Maine and the guards resist, no safety remained but in dispatching the king. Churchill, but perhaps very unjustly, is said to have undertaken this barbarous service. The design of seizing the king is ascertained from various quarters; but an intention to stab or pistol him, in case of resistance, is too shocking to merit credit, without the most positive, clear, and decisive proofs. The only evidence of the fact is the deathbed confession of Sir George Hewitt; who, after having received emoluments and honours from William, repented, in his last moments, of his conduct toward his former master.—James, suspecting Churchill and the Duke of Grafton, once intended to have sent them, under a guard, to Portsmouth; but he judged that severity, instead of aiding, would hurt his affairs."—*Macpherson.*

* "His desertion from King James might in some measure be excused, from its utility. But his design of placing that unfortunate prince a captive in the hands of his rival, is utterly inconsistent with the common feelings of mankind. With regard to HIM, he was a benefactor, a friend, and even a father. He raised HIM from obscurity to independence, to fortune, and to honour. He placed HIM in that only state, that could render his desertion destructive to his own affairs. If his misconduct had rendered James unworthy of the returns of gratitude due to other men, why was King William also deceived? If no measures were to be kept with either of these monarchs, why was England betrayed to her mortal enemy? Though these questions can scarcely be answered to satisfaction, they admit of alleviations. In the characters of mankind, some allowances must be made for their passions and frailties. The attention to interest, which passed through the whole conduct of Marlborough, might suggest to his prudence, to quit the fortunes of a man apparently destined for

church of England: and will our author, or any of the Whiggish side, persuade us he can so far recede from his former principles, to take party against that very church he has helped to preserve? to join in opposition to her with her bitterest foes, when he is already as great and rich as a subject ought to be?

No! no! Such restless spirits as this writer, who, in the words of Mr. Dryden, "fire that world which they were sent by preaching to warm," those "Phaëtons of mankind," abuse the reputation of the greatest persons, and do themselves honour at the expence of others, who, being equally ignorant of many things, yet pretend to determine of all the affairs of war and the cabinet; to inflame the people, abuse the ministry, and the queen through them; to trouble the waters, in hopes crowns and mitres may be found floating on the surface, and ready to fall to the share of the boldest hand.

We shall next consider the "scandalous manner of treatment" the Duke of Marlborough, as this writer tells us, "has met with from the Examiner, and his party;" for, he is sensible the usage he gave him was "not wholly from himself." How can he be sensible of that? For to this day it does not appear who the Examiner is, nor that he had instructions to talk of Crassus, Catiline, or Anthony. That pen still remains concealed; neither rewards nor presents have been given to any, that we can suppose was author of those papers. Whoever he were, he has had the modesty not to reveal himself.

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ruin. His spirit might induce him to oppose King William; as the cold reserve, neglect, and aversion of that prince, might offend his pride. In this state of mind, his lordship could hardly separate the interest of the kingdom from that of the king: and he informed the French court of the expedition against Brest, (in 1694,) more with a design of being revenged on William, than with a view to serve France at the expence of England."—*Macpherson.*

though his remarks were only against those persons whom the queen had thought fit to dispense with from farther serving her; the general excepted, as this writer would have us believe; but he is the satirist, who makes the application. Cannot a person treat of the excessive avarice and sordid behaviour of Marcus Crassus, but, because the Duke of Marlborough is known to be an extreme good husband of his money, he must needs intend his grace as a parallel?* Indeed! Does this libeller think there is so near a resemblance between them? Why, where then is the injustice? To show that there has been any, let him convince us that his grace is become generous, or less in love with riches; and the comparison will cease. But till then, though he were the conqueror of Europe, instead of Flanders, the people will be apt to detest a vice they are sure to suffer by; regarding it as a counterpoise to the bravest actions, or, indeed, the only motive to the performance of them: and where interest is suspected to be the spur to glory, the reputation will always be less clear and shining. As to the comparison with Catiline, I find not the least ground for it: nor can it be so intended, though the old Medley, with his unfair quotation, has charged it upon the Examiner. The passage is in the fourth Examiner, to which I refer the reader, which can never, I hope, be applicable to England; for, how ambitious soever a general may prove, a brave, true English army, cannot create either fear or danger of their becoming a mercenary army. But the author farther tells us, the Examiner was "pleased to make the civil comparison of the Duke of Marlborough and his duchess, to Anthony and Fulvia." What is there said of Anthony is so little, that it is scarce worth anybody's taking it to them-

* See this parallel in the Examiner, No. XXVII. Vol. III.

selves. I am sorry an author cannot introduce a figure, though in poetry, of a haughty, proud, wrathful, and envious woman, but the application must be presently made to his hand: as if there were no vices in history, but what could be paralleled in life! In such a case, I must say, as I did just before, in that of Crassus, with this addition, that sure there must be some sort of resemblance, or one's very friends would never dare to make the ready comparison!

Behold here, the utmost of that charge this author has drawn up, of what has been done, by way of mortification, to the Duke of Marlborough. Alas! this is but one instance of the liberty of the press! whereas the present ministry may complain of a hundred: but their heads are too strong to be shaken by such impotent blasts, or disordered by every libeller's malice. What clouds of pointless arrows, though sent with a good will, have flown from the Observator, the Review, and Medley! How have great and mean geniuses united to asperse their conduct, and turn the management of the late persons in power upon these! Humorous, senseless ballads; foolish parallels; the titles of Oxford and Mortimer * have been an ample field. Who but must despise such wretched wits! I could quote several others, if it were not reviving them from their obscurity, or

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* In the "Pills to purge State Melancholy," 1716, there is a ballad called, "A Welcome to the Medal, to the tune of Mortimer's Hole." There are various allusions to the history and fall of that great favourite, in the songs made against Harley, whose family was descended from the Mortimers, and possessed Wigmore Castle, their ancient inheritance. As for example:

> "Oxford alone shall not bear rule,
> And act the part of Noll;
> We'll bait and hunt the traitorous tool,
> To Mortimer's great hole."
>
> *A choice new song, called Shee-land and Robinocracy.*

See also "The Lives of Roger Mortimer and Robert Harley, 1711."

rather giving new life to those still-born, shapeless births, which but just appeared and perished. Nor do I remember any person to have so far gloried in those monstrous productions, as to own being a parent to them, but the renowned Dr. Hare. The close of his fourth letter of the "Management of the War" is indeed very extraordinary; where he tells, "If they should describe the Duke of Marlborough to be a short, black, fattish, ill-shaped man, that loves to drink hard, never speaks to be understood, is extremely revengeful and ill-bred; if they should represent his mind to be a complication of all ill qualities," &c.* Here is more malice, though less wit and truth, than anything they accuse in the Examiner. In times of liberty and faction, we must expect that the best persons will be libelled; the difference lies in the skill of the libeller. One draws near the life; another must write the name under, or else we cannot understand: for, as yet I never met one person, that could find out who Dr. Hare designed, by his short, black, fattish, ill-shaped man; though he has so far exceeded the liberty the Examiner has taken, as to pretend to paint the very lineaments of the body, as well as those of the mind.

Thus far you see what little reason our author has to complain for the Duke of Marlborough's hard usage; but he grows bolder, and in just despair of the continuation of a war from which he reaps so many advantages, attacks what (notwithstanding the many refinements of some late patriots) I take still to be an undoubted prerogative of the crown, the power of making peace and war. This author, treating the queen with as little consideration as his patrons used to do, does not so much as consult her majesty's

* The Duke of Ormond seems to be hinted at in this odious description.

wisdom and inclination; but supposes, "no British parliament will ever be chosen here, that will ratify an ill peace, or will not crush the bold man who shall propose it." This is like what he says, "That the time will come, when it will be as safe to speak truth of the present ministry, as it is to belie the old." What can one suppose from these threatenings? They are such as in wisdom should never be made, scarce with an army to back them: did I not know the loyalty of ours, I should fear, from our author's great intelligence, that they were in the secret, to frighten the ministry and parliament from taking into consideration the unanimous wishes and wants of our people, who have sustained so long a war, to the ruin of their trade, and a vast expence of their blood and treasure, upon such disinterested views as sure no people besides ever did. We very well know his reasons for providing peace should not be made without Spain;* yet, when all those kingdoms and dependencies were united to the empire, the House of Austria was more terrible to Europe than the House of Bourbon has been since: and a confederate war was then successfully carried on, as now, to fix the balance of power. Let us but consider what wonderful things this ministry has already done; let us enter into their character and capacity, their true love of their country, and sincere endeavours for its welfare; and then may our hearts be at rest; and conclude, that whatever peace they shall think fit to advise, will be the best that they could obtain, for the safety of the church, the glory of their sovereign, and the ease and happiness of her whole people. Let them that would oppose it consider how many

* The accusation against the Duke of Marlborough was, that he sought his own interest in prolonging the war.

millions this one year's war hath cost us, when all the great actions performed by a great army, with a greater general at their head, hath been only gaining one single fortress; an action so much gloried in, and so far magnified, that we are made to think it is of equal importance to the most fortunate campaigns! Let us consider how long we shall be able to pay such a price for so small a conquest! I speak only of our money; having learnt by good example not to value the blood of those poor wretches that are yearly sacrificed in vast numbers, in trenches, and at the foot of walled towns. But say we were even at the gates of Paris, nay, that Paris were ours, what allay would that be to our personal sufferings at home? Let us look into our Gazettes, for the number of bankrupts: along the streets of our metropolis, and observe but the decay of trade, the several shops shut up, and more in daily apprehension of failing. Let us remove ourselves into the country, and see the penury of country gentlemen, with small estates and numerous families, that pay in such large proportions to the war; and there let us inquire how acceptable, nay, how indispensable, peace is to their farther subsisting. True! there is still a great deal of money in England: but in whose hands? Those who have had the management of such prodigious sums as have been given these last three and twenty years, on pretence of carrying on the war. Inquire what sums the late lord treasurer * left the exchequer, and what immense debts in the navy and elsewhere: how the funds were all anticipated or loaded. Observe but what industry has been used, that the late party should part with none of their vast wealth to assist the present exigency; and then let us

* Lord Godolphin.

wonder at the wisdom and conduct of that ministry, which has been able to wade through all these difficulties, restore credit, and uphold the armies abroad: and can we doubt, after this, of their entering into the true interests of the nation, or dispute the peace they shall think fit to advise the queen to make? How can our malicious author say, "That it will be a severe mortification for so great and successful a general, to see the fruits of his victories thrown all away at once, by a shameful and scandalous peace; after a war of nine years, carried on with continued successes, greater than have been known in story? And how grievous must it be to him, to have no footstep remain, except the building at Woodstock, of all the great advantages which he has obtained for the queen and the British nation, against their dangerous enemy; and consequently of his own extraordinary merit to her majesty and his country?" No! are they about to take the Garter from him? to unprince, unduke him? To confiscate all his large possessions, except Woodstock? those vast sums in the banks of Venice, Genoa, and Amsterdam?* His stately moveables, valuable paintings, costly jewels, and, in a word, those immense riches of which himself and his lady (as good an accomptant as she is) do not yet know the extent of? Are all these, I say, to be resumed, and nothing remaining but that edifice or *memento* of a subject's ambition, the stately walls of Blenheim, built while his gracious benefactress is contented to take up her residence in an old patched-up palace, during the burden of a heavy war, without once desiring to rebuild White-

* Report went that the duke had secured large sums in foreign funds. The extent might be exaggerated, but the circumstances of his disgrace justify his prudence in having taken such a precaution.

hall, till, by the blessing of peace, her subjects shall be capacitated to undergo the necessary taxes? I am ashamed to enumerate those obligations the duke has to his queen and country, while he has such wretched and ungrateful advocates, who bellow his uneasiness, and exaggerate his mortifications. It is the misfortune of the times, that we cannot explain to our own people the occasion we have for a peace, without letting our enemies into our necessities, by which they may rise in their demands. Could there be a poll made, and voices collected from house to house, we should quickly see how unanimous our people are for a peace; those excepted, who either gain by the war, or, concealing their hoards, pay but small proportions toward it; an art well known and practised in this great city, where a person worth many thousands shall get himself rated at but one, two, or three hundred pounds stock; while the poor landed man is forced to pay to the extent, because his estate is known, and accordingly valued.

To conclude: I think, in the hands we are in, we need not dispute our safety; and if, as this author would insinuate, even a separate peace should be intended by some of our allies, after the example of our wise neighbours the Dutch at the treaty of Nimeguen, the generality of the people will be easily brought to agree that it is better than no peace at all. They know that our ministry are so well acquainted with the true interest of the nation, and are so tender of its welfare, that they will not consent to take one step in this affair, but what makes for the glory of the queen, and the happiness of her subjects.

A

TRUE RELATION

OF THE SEVERAL

FACTS AND CIRCUMSTANCES

OF THE INTENDED

RIOT AND TUMULT

ON

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S BIRTH-DAY:

GATHERED FROM AUTHENTIC ACCOUNTS;

AND PUBLISHED

FOR THE INFORMATION OF ALL TRUE LOVERS OF OUR CONSTITUTION IN CHURCH AND STATE.

FIRST PRINTED IN NOVEMBER 1711.

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THE burning a Pope in effigy, upon the 17th November, the anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's coronation, was a favourite pastime with the mob of London, and often employed by their superiors as a means of working upon their passions and prejudices. During the ferment occasioned by the pretended popish plot, in the reign of Charles II., this expedient was more than once resorted to. In 1682 the ceremony was celebrated with

peculiar splendour, under the auspices of no less a person than the renowned Elkanah Settle. It exhibited a long procession of

> ————Eremites and friars,
> White, black, and grey, with all their trumpery,

who scattered among the crowd

> ————Reliques, beads,
> Indulgences, dispences, pardons, bulls,
> The sport of winds.————

The murdered body of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey was also carried in effigy, and last followed the Pope and the Devil, who were formally consigned to the flames, at Temple-Bar. A full account of this solemnity, with a wooden cut, representing the procession, may be seen in Dryden's Works, Edit. 1808, Vol. VI. p. 222.

The Whigs of Queen Anne's time had, it seems, formed a resolution to revive the splendour of this grand ceremony. Several of the leaders, members of the Kit-Cat Club, are said to have subscribed a considerable sum for this purpose; and, as if challenging a comparison with the procession of 1682, the account of that solemnity was republished in the Protestant Post Boy, 20th November 1711. But the design was interrupted, as mentioned in this pamphlet.

Swift's Journal to Stella has the following passages, concerning this designed riot, and the pamphlet which contains an account of it:

"This is Queen Elizabeth's birth-day, usually kept in this town by prentices, &c. But the Whigs designed a mighty procession by midnight; and had laid out a thousand pounds, to dress up the pope, devil, cardinals, Sacheverell, &c., and carry them with torches about and burn them. They did it by contribution. Garth gave five guineas. But they were seized last night by order from the secretary."—*Journal to Stella, Nov.* 17, 1711.

"I am told the owners are so impudent that they intend to replevy them by law. I am assured that the figure of the devil is made as like lord treasurer as they could."—*Ibid. Nov.* 19.

"I saw to-day the pope, the devil, and the other figures of cardinals, &c., fifteen in all, which have made such a noise. I have put an understrapper upon writing a twopenny pamphlet, to give an account of the whole design."—*Ibid. Nov.* 26.

It is probable that Swift had but little hand in the "True Relation," &c., for on the 30th he writes, "the fifteen images that I saw were not worth forty pounds, so I stretched a little when I said a thousand. The Grub Street account of the tumult is pub-

lished. The devil is not like lord treasurer. They were all in your odd antic masks, bought in common shops." The pamphlet contains doubtless very violent exaggerations of the Whigs.

—o—

London, Nov. 24, 1711.

SIR,

I AM very sorry so troublesome a companion as the gout delays the pleasure I expected by your conversation in town. You desire to know the truth of what you call "a ridiculous story," inserted in "Dyer's Letter" * and "The Postboy,"† concerning the figures that were seized in Drury-Lane, and seemed only designed for the diversion of the mob, to rouse their old antipathy to popery, and create new aversion in them to the Pretender. If, indeed, this had been their only intent, your reflections would be reasonable, and your compassion pardonable. It is an odd sort of good nature, to grieve at the rabble's being disappointed of their sport, or, as you please to term it, "of what would for the time being have certainly made them very happy." But, Sir, you will not fail to change your opinion, when I shall tell you, that there was never a blacker design formed, unless it were blowing up the Parliament House. No mortal can foresee what might have been the ill effects, if it had once come to execution. We are well assured, that, under pretence of custom and zeal, and what they call an innocent diversion, lurked a dangerous conspiracy: for whoever goes about to disturb the public peace

* A newspaper much read by the Tories, especially by the country gentlemen.

† By Abel Boyer.

and tranquillity, must needs be enemies to the queen and her government.

You have been informed of the surprising generosity and fit of housekeeping the German princess * has been guilty of this summer, at her country seat, in direct contradiction to her former thrifty management; yet, to do her justice, she is not so parsimonious as her lord, nor sets half that value upon a guinea: though her dexterity in getting be as great as his, he outdoes her in preserving. She has had a wonderful address in some things! witness the known story of the diamond,† which is as great an instance of good management on her side, as my lord's making one suit of clothes serve three sets of buttons can be of his frugality. She seems to have forgotten, or rather outlived, all the softer passions, those beautiful blemishes for which they are often pitied by our sex, but never really hated. Wrath, ill nature, spleen, and revenge, are those with whom her ladyship has been in league for many months: she has even fallen into the common weakness of unfortunate women, who have recourse to silly fellows called conjurors; or perhaps in imitation of her mother, her ladyship wanted a very witch;‡ she would give anything to converse with a real witch: at last she took up with a wizard, an ignorant creature, who pretends to deal with the stars, and, by corresponding with thief-catchers, helps people to their goods, when they have been stolen. To please

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* The Duchess of Marlborough. The duke had been invested with the principality of Mindleheim by the emperor.

† In the "Apparition of Mother Haggy," mention is made of a diamond cross given to the duchess by a great man. But the grounds of the reflection are now forgotten.

‡ Mrs. Jenyns, mother of the duchess, is often charged with witchcraft in the lampoons of the time. See the "Apparition of Mother Haggy" in this volume.

her highness, he revived an old cheat, of making an image like the person she most hated; upon which image he would so far work by enchantment, that him it represented, from that moment, should grow distempered, and languish out his short life in diverse sort of pains. Since the wizard was taken into the lady's pay, a certain great man has happened to be indisposed; by which means she remains very well satisfied with the experiment, and imagines this accident to be owing to the force of her enchantment, from which she promises herself still greater events. Though we laugh at the folly, we cannot but remark the malice of the attempt.

On Friday the 16th of November, the heads of the party met at the new palace,* where the late viceroy † recounted to them the happy disposition of affairs; and concluded, "That, notwithstanding all their misfortunes, they had still to-morrow for it." This person, who had so often boasted himself upon his talent for mischief, invention, lying, and for making a certain *lillibullero* song, ‡ with which, if you will believe himself, he sung a deluded prince out of three kingdoms, was resolved to try if, by the cry of "No peace, high church, popery, and the Pretender," he could halloo another in. There were several figures dressed up; fifteen of them

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* See Vol. II. p. 406.

† Thomas Earl of Wharton.

‡ The famous song of Lilibullero was written by Lord Wharton, at the time of the Revolution war. Burnet thus describes its influence: "A foolish ballad was made at that time treating the Papists, and chiefly the Irish, in a very ridiculous manner, which had a burden said to be Irish words, '*lero lero lilibullero*,' that made an impression on the army that cannot be imagined by those that saw it not. The whole army, and at last the people, both in city and country, were singing it perpetually; and perhaps never so slight a thing had so great an effect."—*Memoirs of his Own Time.*

were found in an empty house in Drury-Lane; the Pope, the Pretender, and the Devil, seated under a state, whereof the canopy was scarlet stuff trimmed with deep silver fringe; the Pope was as fine as a pope need to be, the Devil as terrible, the Pretender habited in scarlet laced with silver, a full fair long periwig, and a hat and feather. They had all white gloves, not excepting the very devils; which, whether quite so proper, I leave to the learned. This machine was designed to be borne upon men's shoulders; the long trains dependant from the figures were to conceal those that carried them. Six devils were to appear as drawing the chariot, to be followed by four cardinals, in fine proper habits; four Jesuits and four Franciscan friars, each with a pair of white gloves on, a pair of beads, and a flaming, or, if you please, a bloody faulchion in their hands. Pray judge, if such a parade should at any time appear, without the proper disposition of lights, &c., as was here intended; do you not believe it would be a sufficient call to the multitude; and that they would never forsake it till their curiosity had been satisfied to the full? Any man in his senses may find this was a deliberate as well as a great expence. To prepare men's minds for sedition, one Stoughton's sermon,* (which was burnt by the common hangman in Ireland, by order of the House of Lords,) preached at St. Patrick's in Dublin, and printed there, was that very week reprinted here, and handed about with extreme diligence: and, to fill the people with false fear and terror, they had some days before reported that the

* This sermon was preached at Christ Church, Dublin, Jan. 30, 1705–6; and was burnt by the common hangman, Nov. 9, 1711. "A bold opinion," says Swift on that occasion, "is a short, easy way to merit, and very necessary for those who have no other."

queen was dangerously ill of the gout in her stomach and bowels. The very day of the designed procession, it was whispered upon the Exchange, and all over the city, that she was dead. A gentlewoman that makes wax-work declares, "That, some time before, certain persons of quality, as she judged, who called one another Sir Harry, Sir John, Sir James, &c., came to her house, and bespoke several wax-work figures, one for a lady; they agreed to her price, paid half in hand, and the rest when they fetched them away." These figures are not yet taken. One was designed to represent the lord treasurer, the lady Mrs. Masham, and the rest the other great officers of the court, with Dr. Sacheverell; which the workwoman was ordered to make as like his picture as possibly she could. A certain lady, renowned for beauty,* at the princess's palace, desired that she might have the dressing up of the young, handsome statesman,† whose bright parts are so terrible to the enemies of his country; in order to it, she proposed borrowing from the play-house Æsop's large white horsehair periwig. Her lord ‡ furnished out the rest of the materials from the queen's wardrobe. No wonder he should be an enemy to peace, when his father gains so much by the continuance of the war; nor that a certain young duchess was so eager to have him go in disguise with the viceroy, when his absence was convenient!

Farther to convince you that this was a premeditated design, and carried on in all its forms, proper persons had been busy beforehand, to secure a thousand mob, to carry lights at this goodly pro-

* Lady Mary Churchill, Duchess of Montague, youngest daughter of John Duke of Marlborough.

† Mr. Secretary St. John.

‡ John, the second Duke of Montague. He was at this time master of the great wardrobe.

cession.* One of these agents came to a victualling-house in Clare Market; he called for drink, and the master of the house, of whom he inquired, "If he could procure him forty stout fellows to carry flambeaux on Saturday the 17th instant, to meet there at one o'clock? They should have a crown apiece in hand; and whatever they drank till five, he would be there to see discharged." At such a proposal mine host pricked up his ears; and told his honour, "His honour need not fear but that he might have as many as his honour pleased, at that price." Accordingly he fetched in several from the market, butchers, tripemen, poulterers' prentices, who joyfully listed themselves against the day, because it was to be a holiday, and they should not stand in need of their masters' leave; "for, on Queen Bess's day," they said, "they always went out of course." The landlord promised to make up the complement by the appointed time with honest lads, who would be glad to get their bellies full of drink, and a crown apiece, in an honest way. All was agreed upon; the gentleman paid the reckoning, which came to a considerable sum in beer and brandy for his mob, and departed, with assurance of being there at one o'clock to meet his myrmidons; but, the matter being discovered, he has not been heard of since, to the great disappointment of the good man and the people he had engaged. The like was done in several parts of the town. They had secured to the number, as I told you, of one thousand persons, who were so hired to carry lights, though they know not to what end, doubtless for a burial, among whom were many of the very foot guards. Drinking from one to five, it is plain they were to be made drunk, the better to qualify them for what mis-

* The procession in 1682 was illuminated by 150 flambeaux.

chief was designed by their proper leaders. The viceroy,* with some others of as good and two or three of better rank than himself, were resolved to act in disguise; the viceroy like a seaman, in which he hoped to outdo Massaniello of Naples, whose fame he very much envies for the mighty mischief he occasioned. His busy head was the first inventor of the design; and he would take it very ill if he were robbed of the glory. He had lately proved the power of an accidental mob,† and therefore hoped much better from a premeditated one; he did not doubt inflaming them to his wish by the noise of popery and the Pretender, by which they would be put into a humour to burn even Dr. Sacheverell and the other effigies. At their several bonfires, where the parade was to make a stand, the preliminary articles were to be thrown in with a cry of "No peace;" and proper messengers were to come galloping, as if like to break their necks, their horses all in a foam, who should cry out, "The queen, the queen was dead at Hampton Court." At the same time the Duke of Marlborough was to make his entry through Aldgate, where he was to be met with the cry of "Victory, Bouchain, the lines, no peace, no peace." If matters had once come to this pass, I do not see what could have hindered the leaders from doing all the mischief they desired, from exalting and pulling down whom they pleased, nor from executing, during the rage of the people, prepossessed, as they would be, with the news of the queen's death, whatever violence, injustice, and cruelty, they should think fit. They had resolved before what houses should be burnt. They were to

* Lord Wharton.

† The riots in the cause of Dr. Sacheverell, which the author wishes to be considered as unpremeditated.

begin with one in Essex Street, where the commissioners of accompts meet, from whence a late discovery has been made of vast sums annually received by a great man,* for his permission to serve the army with bread. They said, "Harley should have better luck than they expected, if he escaped de Witting; † they would set people to watch him all that day, that they might know where to find him when they had occasion." And truly who can answer for the consequence of such a tumult, the rage of a mad drunken populace, fomented by such incendiaries (for the whole party, to a man, were engaged to be there)? I do not see how the city could have escaped destruction. There were many to kindle fires, none to put them out. The Spectator,‡ who ought to be but a looker on, was to have been an assistant, that, seeing London in a flame, he might have opportunity to paint after the life, and remark the behaviour of the people in the ruin of their country, so to have made a diverting Spectator. But I cannot but look up to God Almighty with praise for our deliverance, and really think we have very much need of a thanksgiving; for, in all probability, the mischief had been universal and irremediable. I tremble to think what lengths they would have gone: I dare not so much as imagine it. They had taken Massaniello's insurrection for a precedent, by which all who were not directly of their own party had suffered, as may be gathered from what we know of their nature, and by what is already discovered, though there is doubtless a great deal more behind. As soon as the figures were seized, they dispatched away a messenger express to the

* Duke of Marlborough.

† The well-known catastrophe of the Pensioner De Witt and his brother massacred by the Dutch mob.

‡ Steele.

place where it was known the duke intended to land, to tell him he might now take his own time; there was no occasion "for his being on the 17th instant, by seven at night, at Aldgate;" and so he lay that night five miles short of the town.

However the viceroy may value himself upon this design, he seems but to have copied my Lord Shaftesbury in 1679, on the same anniversary. It is well known, by the favour of the mob, they hoped then to have made the Duke of Monmouth king, who was planted at Sir Thomas Fowls's at Temple Bar, to wait the event; while the rest of the great men of his party were over the way, at Henry the Eighth's Tavern. King Charles had been persuaded to come to Sir Francis Child's to see the procession; but, before it began, he had private notice given him to retire, for fear of what mischief the mob might be wrought up to. He did so; which ruined the design they had, to seize on his person, and proclaim the duke king.* This was the

* Some advised Charles II. to call out his guard, but he replied he did not like *horse-play*. They were kept, however, drawn up in readiness. North gives the following lively account of the ceremony:

"When we had posted ourselves at windows, expecting the play to begin, it was very dark, but we could perceive the street to fill, and the hum of the crowd grew louder and louder; and, at length, with help of some lights below, we could discern, not only upwards towards the Bar, where the squib war was maintained, but downwards towards Fleet-Bridge, the whole street was crowded with people, which made that which followed seem very strange; for, about eight at night, we heard a din from below, which came up the street, continually increasing, till we could perceive a motion; and that was a row of stout fellows, that came, shouldered together, cross the street, from wall to wall, on each side. How the people melted away, I cannot tell; but it was plain these fellows made clear board, as if they had swept the street for what was to come after. They went along like a wave; and it was wonderful to see how the crowd made way: I suppose

scheme our modern politicians went upon. One of them was heard to say, "They must have more diversions than one, *i.e.*, burning for the good people of London; since the mob loved to create,* as well as to destroy."

By this time, I do not doubt, Sir, but you are

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the good people were willing to give obedience to lawful authority. Behind this wave (which, as all the rest, had many lights attending) there was a vacancy, but it filled a-pace, till another like wave came up; and so four or five of these waves passed, one after another; and then we discerned more numerous lights, and throats were opened with hoarse and tremendous noise; and, with that, advanced a pageant, borne along above the heads of the crowd, and upon it sat an huge Pope, in *pontificalibus*, in his chair, with a reasonable attendance for state; but his premier minister, that shared most of his ear, was Il Signior Diavolo, a nimble little fellow, in a proper dress, that had a strange dexterity in climbing and winding about the chair, from one of the Pope's ears, to the other.

"The next pageant was of a parcel of Jesuits; and after that (for there was always a decent space between them) came another, with some ordinary persons with halters, as I took it about their necks; and one with a stenterophonic tube, sounded—Abhorrers! Abhorrers! most infernally; and, lastly, came one, with a single person upon it, which, some said, was the pamphleteer Sir Roger L'Estrange, some the King of France, some the Duke of York; but certainly, it was a very complaisant civil gentleman, like the former, that was doing what everybody pleased to have him, and, taking all in good part, went on his way to the fire; and however some, to gratify their fancy, might debase his character, yet certainly he was a person of high quality, because he came in the place of state, which is last of all. When these were passed, our coast began to clear, but it thickened upwards, and the noise increased; for, as we were afterwards informed, these stately figures were planted in a demilune about an huge fire, that shined upon them; and the balconies of the club were ready to crack with their factious load, till the good people were satiated with the fine show; and then the hieroglyphic monsters were brought condignly to a new light of their own making, being, one after another, added to increase the flames: all which was performed with fitting salvos of the rabble, echoed from the club, which made a proper music to so pompous a sacrifice."—NORTH'S *Examen.*

* Make a king.—MANLEY.

thoroughly convinced of the innocence of this intended procession; which they publicly avow, and tell the ministry they are welcome to make what they can of it, knowing themselves safe by having only intended, not acted the mischief; if it had once come to that, they would have been so far above the fear of punishment for their own crimes, as to become executioners of the innocent.

Truly, I think, the malice of that party, is immortal, since not to be satiated with twenty-three years' plunder, the blood of so many wretches, nor the immense debt with which they have burdened us. Through the unexampled goodness of the queen, and the lenity of the other parts of the legislature, they are suffered to sit down unmolested, to bask and revel in that wealth they have so unjustly acquired: yet they pursue their principles with unwearied industry, club their wit, money, politics, toward restoring their party to that power from whence they are fallen; which, since they find so difficult, they take care, by all methods, to disturb and vilify those who are in possession of it. Peace is such a bitter pill, they know not how to swallow: to poison the people against it, they try every nail, and have at last hit of one they think will go, and that they drive to the head. They cry, "No peace," till the trade of our own nation be entirely given up to our neighbours. Thus they would carry on the public good of Europe, at the expence of our private destruction. They cry, "Our trade will be ruined if the Spanish West Indies remain to a son of France;" though the death of his father may cause Philip to forget his birth and country, which he left so young. After the decease of his grandfather, he will be only the brother of a haughty rough-natured king, who in all probability, may give him many occasions to become every day more and more a Spaniard.

They do not allow the dauphin's or the emperor's death have made an alteration in affairs, and confide all things to the supine temper of the Austrian princes; from whence they conclude there can be no danger in trusting half Europe to the easy unactive hands of such an emperor. But may not another Charles the Fifth arise? another Philip the Second? who, though not possessed of the Austrian territories, gave more trouble and terror to England than ever she felt from France; insomuch as, had not the seas and winds fought our battles, their invincible Armada had certainly brought upon us slavery and a popish queen! Neither is it a new thing for princes to improve as well as degenerate. Power generally brings a change of temper. Philip de Comines tells us, "That the great Duke of Burgundy, in his youth, hated the thoughts of war, and the fatigue of the field. After he had fought and gained one battle, he loved nothing else; and could never be easy in peace, but led all his life in war, and at length died in it; for want of other enemies, fighting against the poor barren Swissers, who were possessed of nothing worth contending for."

But it is not reason, or even facts, that can subdue this stubborn party. They bear down all by noise and misrepresentation. They are, but will not seem, convinced; and make it their business to prevent others from being so. If they can but rail and raise a clamour, they hope to be believed, though the miserable effects of their mal-administration are ten thousand to one against them; a festering obvious sore, which when it can be healed we know not, though the most famous artists apply their constant skill to endeavour at a cure. Their aversion to any government but their own is unalterable; like some rivers, that are said to pass through without mingling

with the sea; though disappearing for a time, they rise the same, and never change their nature.

I am, Sir, &c.

The Whigs published the following account of their intended procession, transcribed by Mr. Nichols from a folio half sheet, published in 1711:

"An account of the mock procession of burning the Pope and the Chevalier de St. George, intended to be performed on the 17th instant, being the anniversary of Queen Elizabeth, of pious and glorious memory.

The owners of the pope, the Chevalier de St. George, fourteen cardinals, and as many devils, which were taken out of a house in Drury-Lane, at midnight, between the 16th and 17th instant, and exposed to view at the Cockpit for nothing, (on the latter of those days,) think fit to acquaint the world that their intention in making them was, with those and other images, (in case their goods had not been forcibly taken away,) to have formed the following procession.

Twenty watchmen to clear the way, with link-boys lighting them on each side.

Twenty-four bagpipes marching four and four, and playing the memorable tune of Lillibullero.

Ten watchmen marching two and two, to prevent disorder.

Four drums in mourning, with the pope's arms in their caps.

A figure representing Cardinal Gualteri, lately made by the Pretender protector of the English nation, looking down on the ground in a sorrowful

posture; his train supported by two missionaries from Rome, supposed to be now in England.

Two pages, throwing beads, bulls, pardons, and indulgences.

Two jack puddings sprinkling holy water.

Twelve hautboys playing the tune of the Greenwood Tree.

Two lackeys on each side of them, bearing streamers, with these words, *Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutare*, being the device on the colours of the right reverend the Bishop of London's troops when he marched into Oxford in the year 1688.

Six beadles with Protestant flails in their hands.

These followed by four persons bearing streamers, each with the pictures of the seven bishops who were sent to the Tower.

Twelve monks, representing the fellows who were put into Magdalen College in Oxford, on the expulsion of the Protestants.

Twelve streamer-bearers, with different devices, representing sandals, ropes, beads, bald pates, and bigbellied nuns.

A lawyer, representing the clerk of the high commission court.

Twelve heralds marching one after another, at a great distance, with pamphlets, setting forth King James II.'s power of dispensing with the test and penal laws.

On each side of the heralds, fifty links.

After these, four fat friars in their habits, streamers carried over their heads, with these words, "Eat and pray."

Four Jesuits in English habits, with flower-deluces on their shoulders, inscribed, "Indefeasible;" and masks on their faces, on which is writ, "The House of Hanover."

Four Jesuits in their proper habits.

Four cardinals of Rome in their red hats curiously wrought.

The pope under a magnificent canopy, with a right silver fringe, accompanied by the Chevalier St. George on the left, and his counsellor the devil on his right.

The whole procession closed by twenty streamers, on each of which was wrought these words,

> God bless Queen Anne, the nation's great defender!
> Keep out the French, the Pope, and the Pretender.

In this order it was intended, with proper reliefs of lights at several stations in the march, to go through Drury Lane, Long Acre, Gerrard Street, Piccadilly, Germain Street, St. James's Square, Pell Mell, Strand, Catherine Street, Russel Street, Drury Lane, Great Queen Street, Little Queen Street, Holbourn, Newgate Street, Cornhill, Bishopsgate Street, where they were to wheel about, and return thorough to St. Paul's Churchyard to Fleet Street. And at the Temple, before the statue of that illustrious lady whose anniversary was then celebrated, that queen wearing a veil, on which are drawn the picture of her present majesty, and under it the battles of Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and the passes of the lines in this present year 1711, after proper ditties were sung, the Pretender was to have been committed to the flames, being first absolved by the Cardinal Gualteri. After that, the said cardinal was to be absolved by the pope, and burnt. And then the devil was to jump into the flames with his holiness in his arms.

And let all the people say—*Amen.*"

THE

NEW WAY

OF SELLING

PLACES AT COURT:

IN A LETTER FROM A SMALL COURTIER TO A GREAT STOCKJOBBER.

"——*Omnia Romæ*
Cum pretio——"

JUVENAL, iii. 183.

FIRST PRINTED IN 1712.

——o——

"DID I tell you of a scoundrel about the court, that sells employments to ignorant people, and cheats them of their money? He lately made a bargain for the vice-chamberlain's place, for seven thousand pounds, and had received some guineas earnest; but the whole thing was discovered the other day, and examination taken of it by Lord Dartmouth, and I hope he will be swinged. The vice-chamberlain told me several particulars of it last night, at Lord Masham's."—*Journal to Stella*, March 24, 1711–12.

The pamphlet has perhaps no very good title to be retained in Swift's works.

N that friendly dispute which happened between us some time ago, wherein you endeavoured to prove, that the city politics outdid those of the court; I remember there was nothing upon which you seemed to pride yourself more than that mystery of your brethren in Exchange Alley, which is usually called "selling the bear's skin;" whereby a very beneficial trade is daily driven with imaginary stocks, and many thousands bought and sold, to great advantage, by those who were not worth a groat. This you challenged me to match, with all my knowledge in the lower arts of the court. I confess, you had then the better of the argument; and I was forced to yield, which I would hardly do at present, if the controversy were to be resumed: I could now make you acknowledge, that what you in the city call "selling the bear's skin," does not deserve the name, when compared with the dexterity of one of our artists. I shall leave the decision of this matter to yourself, after you have received the following story, which I shall most faithfully relate.

There is a certain petty retainer to the court, who has no employment at all himself, but is a partner for life to one that has. This gentleman resides constantly with his family among us; where, being wholly at leisure, he is consequently very speculative, perpetually turning his thoughts to improve those happy talents that nature has given him. He has maturely considered with himself the strange opinions that people at distance have of courts. Strangers are apt to think, that whoever has an apartment in the royal palace, can go through the lodgings as if he were at home, and talk familiarly with every one he meets, must needs have at any time a dozen or two of employments in his power;

the least word from him to a great man, or, upon extraordinary occasions, to the queen herself, would certainly do the business! This ignorance has often been made very good use of by dexterous men among us. Old courtiers will tell you twenty stories of Harry Killigrew, Fleetwood Sheppard,* and others, who would often sell places that were never in being, and dispose of others a good pennyworth before they were vacant; how the Privy Garden, at Whitehall, was actually sold, and an artist sent to measure it; how one man was made curtain-lifter to the king, and another his majesty's goldfinder: so that our predecessors must be allowed their due honour. Neither do I at all pretend, that the hero I am now celebrating was the first inventor of that art; wherein it must, however, be granted, that he hath made most wonderful improvements.

This gentleman, whom I take leave to call by the name of Guzman, in imitation of a famous Spanish deceiver of that name, having been formerly turned out of one or two employments for no other crime than that of endeavouring to raise their value, has ever since employed his credit and power for the service of others; and, where he could not secure them in reality, has been content to feed their imaginations, which, to a great part of mankind, is full as well. It is true, he hath done all this with a prudent regard to his own interest; yet whoever has trafficked with him cannot but own, that he sells at reasonable rates; and is so modest withal, that he is content the credit of taking your money should rest on the greatest men in England, rather than himself. He begged a small employment for one of his customers, from a lord of the admiralty, then

* Well known as men of pleasure and humour, in the witty court of Charles II.

told his client, "that the great man must have a hundred guineas presented him in a handsome manner." Our placejobber brought an old lame horse of his own, and said, "the admiral asked a hundred guineas for it:" the other bought the horse, without offering to cheapen him, or look in his mouth.

Two or three such achievements as these gave our adventurer the courage for some time past to deal by the great, and to take all employments at court into his own hands. And though he and his family are firm adherents to the honest party, and furious against the present ministry, (as I speak it to our honour, no small number of us are,) yet in the disposal of places he was very impartial, and gave every one their choice. He had a standing agent, to whom all people applied themselves that wanted any employment, who had them ready of all sizes, to fit whatever customer came, from twenty to a thousand pounds a year.

If the question be asked, Why he takes no employment himself? He readily answers, That he might, whenever he pleased, be in the commission of the customs, the excise, or of trade: but does not think it worth his while; because, without stirring from court, or giving himself any trouble, he can, by his credit, oblige honest gentlemen with employments, and at the same time make better advantage to himself. He hath several ways to establish a reputation of his interest at court. Sometimes, as I have already observed, he hath actually begged small offices, and disposed of them to his clients. Besides, by living in her majesty's palace, and being industrious at picking out secrets, he often finds where preferment is likely to go even before those who are to be preferred can have any notice of it

themselves; then he immediately searches out for them, tells them of their merits, asks them how they would like of such an employment; and promises, by his power at court, to get it for them: but withal gives them a hint, that great men will take money; though they will not be known to do it: that it therefore must be done by a second hand, for which he proffers his service, tells them what sum will be convenient, and then sinks it in his own pocket; beside what is given to him in gratitude for his solicitations and good will: this gives him credit to pursue his trade of placejobbing. Whoever hath a mind for an employment at court, or anywhere else, goes to Guzman's agent; and he reads over to the candidate a list of places, with their profit and salaries. When one is fixed upon, the agent names the known Don Guzman, as a person to be depended upon; tells the client, he must send his honour a hamper of wine; if the place they are in treaty for be considerable, a hogshead. At next meeting, the price is agreed on; but unfortunately this employment is half promised to another: however, he believes that that difficulty may be removed for twenty or thirty guineas; which, being but a trifle, is immediately given. After two or three meetings more, perhaps, the bubble hath access to the don himself; who assumes great airs, says the thing shall be done, he has already spoken to the queen or lord treasurer. At parting, the agent tells the officer elect, there is immediate occasion for forty or fifty guineas, to be given among clerks, or servants, or some great minister. Thus the poor placehunter is drilled on, from one month to another, perpetually squeezed of ready money, and nothing done. This trade Don Guzman has carried on for many years, and frequently with five or six dupes in hand at a

time, and perhaps all of them for one place. I know it will be the wonder of many people, as it has been mine, how such impostures as these could be so frequently repeated, and how so many disappointed people could be kept from making a noise and clamour that may ruin the trade and credit of this bold projector; but it is with him as with almanack makers, who gain more reputation by one right guess, than they lose by a thousand wrong ones. Besides, I have already observed, that, once or twice in his life, he did actually provide for one or two persons; farther, it was his constant rule, whatever employment was given away, to assure his clients that he had the chief hand in disposing of it. When a man had no more to give, or was weary of attending, the excuse was, either that he had some private enemies, or the queen was engaged for that turn, or that he must think of something else: and then it was a new business, required new fees, and new hampers of wine; or, lastly, Don Guzman was not to be seen, or talked cold and dry, or in very great haste, and so the matter dwindled to nothing: the poor pretender to an employment discovered the cheat too late, was often ashamed to complain, and was only laughed at when he did.

Having thus described some few of the qualifications which have so much distinguished this worthy manager, I shall crown all with informing you of the particulars of a late achievement, that will give him an everlasting renown. About two months ago, a gentleman of a good fortune had a mind to buy some considerable employment in the court, and sent a solicitor to negotiate this affair with Don Guzman's agent, who, after one or two meetings, told him the vice-chamberlain's employment was to be disposed of, the person who now enjoyed it

being wholly out of favour with the queen;* that the choice of his successor was in Don Guzman's power; that seven thousand pounds was the price, whereof four thousand was to be given to a lady who was foster-sister to the queen; two thousand to the present vice-chamberlain, in consideration of his being turned out; and the remaining thousand to be divided between the great don and the two small agents: this was the result after several meetings, after two or three hampers of wine had been sent to St. James's, and some guineas given to facilitate the putting off a bargain, which, as pretended, was begun for the employment, to another person. This matter went so far, that notes were interchangeably given between the two agents and their principal, as well relating to the thousand pounds which was to be divided among them, as to the main sum. Our projector was likewise very curious to know, whether the new vice-chamberlain could speak French, which, he said, was absolutely necessary to his office; whether he was well fashioned, had a genteel manner, and polite conversation; and directed, that the person himself should, upon an appointed day, be seen walking in the garden before St. James's house, that the lady, the queen's foster-sister, might judge of his mien, whether he were a sightly man, and, by his appearance, qualified for so great an employment. To carry the imposture farther, one Sunday, when, in the lord chamberlain's † absence, Mr. Vice-chamberlain led her majesty to chapel, Don Guzman being there with his solicitor, said to him, with an expressive sneer, and a sort of rapture, "Ah, Sir, what happiness! I am ravished to think of it. I wish your friend was

* Thomas Coke, Esq.
† Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury.

here now, to see the vice-chamberlain handing the queen: I would make him give the other thousand pounds for his employment."

These are the circumstances of this story, as near as I can remember. How the ingenious don could have got off clean from this business, I cannot possibly imagine; but it unfortunately happened, that he was not put to the trial of showing his dexterity; for the vice-chamberlain, by what means I could never yet learn, got a little light into the matter. He was told that somebody had been treating for his place, and information given him where to find the solicitor of the person who was to succeed him. He immediately sent for the man: who (not conceiving himself to be engaged in a dishonest action, and therefore conscious of no guilt) very freely told him all that he knew; and, as he had good reason, was as angry at the cheat put upon him and his friend as the vice-chamberlain himself; whereupon poor Don Guzman and his two agents were, at Mr. Vice-chamberlain's request, examined before a principal secretary of state, and their examinations taken in writing. But here I must with shame confess, that our hero's behaviour was much below his character; he shuffled and dodged, denied and affirmed, contradicted himself every moment, owned the fact, yet insisted on his honour and innocency. In short, his whole demeanour was such, that the rawest stockjobber in Exchange Alley would blush to see it. It is true, he hath since in some manner recovered his reputation; he talks boldly wherever he comes, as if he were the party injured, and as if he expected satisfaction; and, what is still more heroical, goes on in his old trade of disposing places, though not of such great consideration.

How the affair will end, I cannot tell; the vice-chamberlain, between generosity and contempt, not

being hitherto very forward in carrying it to a formal prosecution; and the rest of the court contenting themselves, some with laughing, and some in lifting up their eyes with admiration.

However, I think the matter well deserves to be recorded, both for the honour of the manager, and to let you and the world know, that great abilities and dexterity are not confined to Exchange Alley.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

THE

STORY

OF THE

ST. ALBAN'S GHOST,

OR THE

APPARITION

OF

MOTHER HAGGY.

COLLECTED FROM THE BEST MANUSCRIPTS.

Sola, Novum, Dictuq, Nefas, Harpyia Celæno
Prodigium canit, et tristes denuntiat Iras.

VIRGIL.

FIRST PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1712.

THE following *jeu d'esprit* had a prodigious success, the copy used on the present occasion being marked as the fifth edition. It seems, judging from the style, to have been the joint work of Swift and Arbuthnot. Our author, with his usual ambiguity upon such occasions, mentions it thus in his Journal to Stella, Feb. 22: "I went to Lord Masham's to-night, and Lady Masham made

me read her a pretty twopenny pamphlet, called, 'the St. Alban's Ghost.' I thought I had writ it myself; so did they; but I did not." Vol. II. p. 487. Notwithstanding this imperfect disavowal, I think the piece has such strong marks of Swift's manner, that we are only to understand by the expression, that he was not the sole author. At least it is as well entitled to a place among his legitimate writings as the History of John Bull, and others, in which Arbuthnot had a principal, though unostentatious share. The severity with which Garth is treated in the St. Alban's Ghost countenances the idea that it was the work of a brother physician; the *odium medicum* being well known to equal in intensity every quality of the like kind, excepting the *odium theologicum.*

—o—

I CAN scarcely say whether we ought to attribute the multitude of ghosts and apparitions, which were so common in the days of our forefathers, to the ignorance of the people, or the impositions of the priest. The Romish clergy found it undoubtedly for their interest to deceive them, and the superstition of the people laid themselves open to receive whatsoever they thought proper to inculcate. Hence it is, that their traditions are little else than the miracles and achievements of unbodied heroes, a sort of spiritual romance, so artfully carried on, and delivered in so probable a manner, as may easily pass for truth on those of an uncultivated capacity, or a credulous disposition. Our sectarists, indeed, still retain the credulity, as well as some of the tenets, of that church; and apparitions, and such like, are still the bugbears made use of by some of the most celebrated of their holders forth, to terrify the old women of their congregation, (who are their surest customers,) and enlarge their quarterly subscriptions. I know one of these ambidexters, who never fails of ten or twenty pounds more than ordi-

nary, by nicking something wonderful in due time; he often clothes his whole family by the apparition of a person lately executed at Tyburn; or a whale seen at Greenwich, or thereabouts; and I am credibly informed, that his wife has made a visit with a brand new sable tippet on, since the death of the Tower lions.

But as these things will pass upon none but the ignorant and superstitious, so there are others that will believe nothing of this nature, even upon the clearest evidence. There are, it must be owned, but very few of these accounts to be depended on; some, however, are so palpable, and testified by so good authority, by those of such undoubted credit, and so discerning a curiosity, that there is no room to doubt of their veracity, and which none but a sceptic can disbelieve. Such is the following story of Mother Haggy, of St. Alban's,* in the reign of King James the First: the mighty pranks she played in her lifetime, and her apparition afterwards, made such a noise both at home and abroad, and were so

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* By this appellation we are to understand Frances, daughter of Sir Gifford Thornhurst, of Agnes Court, in Kent, wife of Richard Jennings, of Sawbridge, in the county of Hertford, and mother to the celebrated Sarah Duchess of Marlborough. The memory of this lady was severely handled by her daughter's political enemies. In Mrs. Manley's scandalous chronicles, she is painted in colours of the blackest infamy; and in other Tory pamphlets, as in the text, she is characterized as a second edition of the celebrated Mother Shipton.

Dr. Barrett has transcribed the following satire from the Lanesborough:

"No wonder storms more dreadful are by far
Than all the losses of a twelve years' war;
No wonder prelates do the church betray,
Old statesmen vote and act a different way;
No wonder magic arts surround the throne,
Old Mother Jennings in her Grace is known;
Old England's genius rouse, her charms dispel,
Burn but the witch, and all things will do well."

terrible to the neighbourhood, that the country people, to this day, cannot hear the mention of her name without the most dismal apprehensions. The injuries they received from the sorceries and incantations of the mother, and the injustice and oppression of the son and daughter, have made so deep an impression upon their minds, and begot such an hereditary aversion to their memory, that they never speak of them without the bitterest curses and imprecations.

I have made it my business, being at St. Alban's lately, to inquire more particularly into this matter, and the helps I have received from the most noted men of erudition in this city have been considerable, and to whom I make my public acknowledgment. The charges I have been at in getting manuscripts, and labour in collating them, the reconciling the disputes about the most material circumstances, and adjusting the various readings, as they have taken me up a considerable time, so I hope they may be done to the satisfaction of my reader. I wish I could have had time to have distinguished by an asterism the circumstances delivered by tradition only, from those of the manuscripts, which I was advised to do by my worthy friend the Rev. Mr. Whiston,* who, had he not been employed otherways, might have been a very proper person to have undertaken such a performance.

The best manuscripts are now in the hands of the ingenious Dr. Garth, where they are left for the curious to peruse, and where any clergyman may be welcome; for however he may have been abused by those who deny him to be the author of the Dispen-

* The celebrated divine and philosopher, William Whiston, was about this time accused of heresy by the Convocation.

sary,* and taxed by others with principles and practices unbecoming a man of his sense and probity, yet I will be bold to say in his defence, that I believe he is as good a Christian as he is a poet, and if he publishes anything on the late D——d M——y, I don't question but it will be interspersed with as many precepts of revealed religion, as the subject is capable of bearing; and it is very probable, those refined pieces that the doctor has been pleased to own, since the writing of the Dispensary, have been looked upon by the lewd debauched critics of the town to be dull and insipid, for no other reason but because they are grave and sober; but this I leave for others to determine, and can say for his sincerity, that I am assured he believes the following relation as much as any of us all.

Mother Haggy was married to a plain homespun yeoman of St. Alban's, and lived in good repute for some years; the place of her birth is disputed by some of the most celebrated moderns, though they have a tradition in the country, that she was never born at all, and which is most probable. At the birth of her daughter Haggite † something happened very remarkable, and which gave occasion to the neighbourhood to mistrust she held a correspondence with Old Nick, as was confirmed afterwards, beyond the possibility of disproof. The neighbours were got together a merry-making, as they term it, in the country, when the old woman's high-crowned hat, that had been thrown upon the bed's tester during

* Garth was suspected, however unjustly, of having received assistance in composing his celebrated satire, "The Dispensary." His religious opinions inclined to deism, although Pope says of him—

> ——— Garth, the best good Christian he,
> Although he knows it not.

† Sarah Jennings, Duchess of Marlborough.

the heat of the engagement, leaped with a wonderful agility into the cradle, and being catched at by the nurse, was metamorphosed into a coronet, which, according to her description, was not much unlike that of a German prince; but it soon broke into a thousand pieces. "Such," cries old Mother Haggy, "will be the fortune of my daughter, and such her fall." The company took but little notice of what she said, being surprised at the circumstance of the hat. But this is fact, says the Reverend and Honourable Lumley Lloyd,* and my grandmother, who was a person of condition, told me, says he, she knew the man, who knew the woman, who was, said she, in the room at that instant. The very same night I saw a comet, neither have I any occasion to tell a lie as to this particular, says my author, brandishing its tail in a very surprising manner in the air; but upon the breaking of a cloud, I could discern, continues he, a clergyman at the head of a body of his own cloth, and followed by an innumerable train of laity, who coming towards the comet, it disappeared.

This was the first time Mother Haggy became suspected, and it was the opinion of the wisest of the parish, that they should petition the king to send her to be tried for a witch by the Presbytery of Scotland. How this past off I cannot tell, but certain it is, that some of the great ones of the town were in with her, and it is said she was serviceable to them in their amours; she had a wash that would make the skin of a blackamoor as white as alabaster, and another that would restore the loss of a maidenhead, without any hinderance of business, or the knowledge of any one about them. She tried this

* The Hon. Lumley Lloyd, rector of Covent Garden, incurred the resentment of the Tories, by a sermon preached by him, 30th January 1711-12.

experiment so often upon her daughter Haggite, that more than twenty were satisfied they had her virginity before marriage.

She soon got such a reputation all about the country, that there was not a cow, a smock, or a silver spoon lost, but they came to her to inquire after it; all the young people flocked to have their fortunes told, which, they say, she never missed. She told Haggite's husband he should grow rich, and be a great man, but by his covetousness and griping of the poor, should come to an ill end. All which happened so exactly, that there are several old folks in our town who can remember it as if it was but yesterday.

She has been often seen to ride full gallop upon a broomstick at noonday, and swim over a river in a kettledrum. Sometimes she would appear in the shape of a lioness, and at other times of a hen or a cat; but, I have heard, could not turn herself into a male creature, or walk over two straws across. There were never known so many great winds as about that time, or so much mischief done by them; the pigs grunted, and the screech-owls hooted oftener than usual; a horse was found dead one morning with hay in his mouth; and a large overgrown jack was caught in a fish-pond thereabouts, with a silver tobacco-box in his belly; several women were brought to bed of two children, some miscarried, and old folks died very frequently.

These things could not choose but breed a great combustion in the town, as they call it, and everybody certainly had rejoiced at her death, had she not been succeeded by a son and daughter, who, though they were no conjurors, were altogether as terrible to the neighbourhood. She had two daughters, one of which was married to a man who went beyond sea; the other, her daughter Haggite,

to Avaro,* whom we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel of this story.

There lived at that time in the neighbourhood two brothers, of a great family, persons of a vast estate and character, and extremely kind to their servants and dependants. Haggite, by her mother's interest, was got into this family, and Avaro, who was afterwards her husband, was the huntsman's boy. He was a lad of a fine complexion, good features, and agreeable to the fair sex, but wanted the capacity of some of his fellow servants; though he got a reputation afterwards for a man of courage, but upon no other grounds than by setting the country fellows to cudgelling or boxing, and being a spectator of a broken head and a bloody nose.

There are several authentic accounts of the behaviour of these two, in their respective stations, and by what means they made an advancement of their fortunes. There are several relations, I say, now extant, that tell us, how one of these great brothers took Avaro's sister for his mistress,† which was the foundation of his preferment, and how Haggite, by granting her favours to any one who would go to the expence of them, became extremely wealthy, and how both had gained the art of getting money out of everybody they had to do with, and by the most dishonourable methods. Never, perhaps, was any couple so matched in everything as these, or so fit for one another; a couple so linked by the bonds of iniquity, as well as marriage, that it is impossible to tell which had the greatest crimes to answer for.

It will be needless to relate the fortune of the

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* The Duke of Marlborough.

† Miss Churchill was mistress to James II. when Duke of York.

brothers, who were their successive masters, and the favours they bestowed on them. It is sufficient that the estate came at last to a daughter of the younger brother, a lady who was the admiration of the age she lived in, and the darling of the whole country, and who had been attended from her infancy by Haggite.

Then it was Avaro began his tyranny; he was entrusted with all the affairs of consequence, and there was nothing done without his knowledge. He married his daughters to some of the most considerable estates in the neighbourhood, and was related by marriage to one Baconface,* a sort of bailiff to his lady. He and Baconface and Haggite got into possession, as it were, of their lady's estate, and carried it with so high a hand, were so haughty to the rich, and oppressive to the poor, that they quickly began to make themselves odious; but for their better security, they formed a sort of confederacy with one Dammyblood;† Clumzy,‡ their son-in-law; Splitcause,§ an attorney; and Mouse,‖ a noted ballad-maker, and some others. As soon as they had done this, they began so to domineer, that there was no living for those who would not compliment, or comply with them in their villany. Haggite cried, Lord, madam, to her mistress, it must be so; Avaro swore, by G—d, and Baconface shook his head and looked dismally. They made every tenant pay a tax, and every servant considerably out of his

* Sidney Earl of Godolphin.

† Thomas Earl of Wharton.

‡ The Earl of Sunderland, son-in-law to the Duke of Marlborough.

§ Lord Somers.

‖ Lord Halifax; called *Mouse*, because he first distinguished himself by writing, in conjunction with Prior, "The Town and Country Mouse," a parody on Dryden's Hind and Panther.

wages, toward the mounding their lady's estate, as they pretended, but most part of it went into their own pockets. Once upon a time, the tenants grumbling at their proceedings, Clumzy, the son-in-law, brought in a parcel of beggars to settle on the estate.* Thus they lived for some years, till they grew richer than their mistress, and were, perhaps, the richest servants in the world: nay, what is the most remarkable, and will scarcely find belief in future ages, they began at last to deny her title to the estate, and affirm, she held it only by their permission and connivance.

Things were come to this pass, when one of the tenants' sons from Oxford preached up obedience to their lady, and the necessity of their downfall who opposed it.† This opened the eyes of all the honest tenants, but enraged Avaro and his party to that degree, that they had hired a pack of managed bull-dogs with a design to bait him, and had done it infallibly, had not the gentry interposed, and the country people run in to his assistance. These, with much ado, muzzled the dogs, and petitioned their lady to discard the mismanagers, who consented to it.

Great were the endeavours, and great the struggles of the faction, for so they were called, to keep themselves in power, as the histories of those times mention. They stirred up all their lady's acquaintance to speak to her in their behalf, wrote letters to and fro, swore and cursed, laughed and cried, told the most abominable and inconsistent lies, but all to no purpose: they spent their money, lavished away their beef, pudding, and October, most unmerci-

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* The Palatines.

† Alluding to the sermon of Sacheverell, and its consequences.

fully, and made several jointed-babies to show for sights, and please the tenants' sons about Christmas.*

Old Drybones † was then the parson of the parish, a man of the most notorious character, who would change his principles at any time to serve a turn, preach or pray *extempore*, talk nonsense, or anything else, for the advancement of Avaro and his faction. He was looked upon to be the greatest artist in legerdemain in that country, and had a way of showing the pope and little master in a box; but the figures were so very small it was impossible for anybody, but himself, to discern them. He was hired, it is supposed, to tax the new servants with popery, together with their mistress, which he preached in several churches thereabouts; but his character was too well known to make anything credited that came from him.

There are several particulars related, both by tradition and the manuscripts, concerning the turning out of these servants, which would require greater volumes than I design. It is enough, that, notwithstanding their endeavours, they were discarded, and the lady chose her new servants out of the most honest and substantial of her tenants, of undoubted abilities, who were tied to her by inclination as well as duty. These began a reformation of all the abuses committed by Avaro and Baconface, which discovered such a scene of roguery to the world, that one would hardly think the most mercenary favourites could be guilty of.

Avaro now began to be very uneasy, and to be affrighted at his own conscience; he found nothing would pacify the enraged tenants, and that his life

* See the preceding account of the intended tumult.
† Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury.

would be but a sufficient recompence for his crimes. His money, which he relied on, and which he lavished away to bribe off his destruction, had not force enough to protect him. He could not, as it is reported, sit still in one place for two minutes, never slept at all, eat little or nothing, talked very rambling and inconsistent, of merit, hardships, accounts, perquisites, commissioners, bread, and bread-waggons, but was never heard to mention any cheese.

He came and made a confession in his own house to some people he never saw before in his life, and which shows no little disorder in his brain, that, whatever they might think of him, he was as dutiful a servant as any his mistress had. Haggite raved almost as bad as he, and had got St. Anthony's fire in her face; but it is a question, says Dr. Garth, whether there was anything ominous in that, since, it is probable, the distemper only changed its situation. Meanwhile it was agreed by Baconface and others, that a consultation should be called at Avaro's house, something decisive resolved on, in order to prevent their ruin; and, accordingly, Jacobo the messenger was sent to inform the cabal of it.

Dismal and horrid was the night of that infernal consultation! nothing heard but the melancholy murmuring of winds, and the croaking of toads and ravens; everything seemed wild and desart, and double darkness overspread the hemisphere: thunder and lightning, storms and tempest, and earthquakes, seemed to presage something more than ordinary, and added to the confusion of that memorable night. Nature sickened and groaned, as it were, under the tortures of universal ruin. Not a servant in the house but had dreamed the strangest dreams, and Haggite herself had seen a stranger in the candle. The fire languished and burnt blue, and the crickets

sung continually about the oven. How far the story is true concerning the warming-pan and dishes, I cannot say; but certain it is, a noise was heard like that of rolling pease from the top of the house to the bottom; and the windows creaked, and the doors rattled in a manner not a little terrible. Several of their servants made affidavit, that Haggite lost a red petticoat, a ruff, and a pair of green stockings, that were her mother's, but the night before, and a diamond-cross once given her by a great man.*

It was about midnight before this black society got together, and no sooner were they seated, when Avaro opened to them in this manner. We have tried, says he, my friends, all the artifices we could invent or execute, but all in vain. Our mistress has discovered plainly our intentions, and the tenants will be neither flattered, nor frighted, nor bribed into our interest. It remains, therefore, and what though we perish in the attempt, we must perish otherwise, that once for all we make a push at the very life of —— when, lo! says the manuscript, an unusual noise interrupted his discourse, and Jacobo cried out, The devil, the devil at the door. Scarce had he time to speak, or they to listen, when the apparition of Mother Haggy entered; but, who can describe the astonishment they were then in? Haggite swooned away in the elbow chair as she sat, and Avaro, notwithstanding his boasted courage, slunk under the table in an instant: Baconface screwed himself into a thousand postures; and Clumzy trembled till his very water trickled from him. Splitcause tumbled over a joint-stool, and

* This seems to be the "known story of the diamond," mentioned in the Vindication of the Duke of Marlborough, but now forgotten.

Mouse the ballad-maker broke a brandy bottle that had been Haggite's companion for some years; but Dammyblood, Dammyblood only was the man that had the courage to cry out, G-d d-mn your bl--d, what occasion for all this bustle? Is it not the devil, and is he not our old acquaintance? This revived them in some measure; but the ghastliness of the spectacle made still some impression on them. There was an unaccountable irregularity in her dress, a wanness in her complexion, and a disproportion in her features. Flames of fire issued from her nostrils, and a sulphurous smoke from her mouth, which, together with the condition some of the company were in, made a very noisome and offensive smell; and I have been told, says a very grave alderman of St. Alban's, some of them saw her cloven foot.

I come, says she, at length, (in a hollow voice, more terrible than the celebrated Stentor, or the brawny Caledonian,) I come, O ye accomplices in iniquity, to tell you of your crimes, to bid you desist from these cabals, for they are fruitless, and prepare for punishment that is certain. I have, as long as I could, assisted you in your glorious, execrable attempts, but time is now no more; the time is coming when you must be delivered up to justice. As to you, O son and daughter, said she, turning to them, 'tis but a few revolving moons, ere you must both fall a sacrifice to your avarice and ambition, as I have told you heretofore, but your mistress will be too merciful, and though your ready money must be refunded, your estate in land will descend unto your heirs. But you, O Baconface, you have merited nothing to save either your life or your estate, be contented, therefore, with the loss of both: And, Clumzy, says she, you must share the same fate; your insolence to your lady, and the beggars

you brought in upon the tenants, will require it. Dammyblood, continues she, turning towards him, you must expect a considerable fine; but Splitcause and Mouse may come off more easily. She said, gave a shriek, and disappeared; and the cabal dispersed with the utmost consternation.

THE

CHARACTER

OF

RICHARD STEELE, Esq.

WITH SOME

REMARKS.

BY

TOBY, ABEL'S KINSMAN;

OR,

ACCORDING TO MR. CALAMY, A.F. & N.

IN A LETTER TO HIS GODFATHER.

Bella inter Geminos plusquam civilia Fratres. EPIGR.

FIRST PRINTED FOR JOHN MORPHEW, IN 1713.

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THIS satire upon Steele was generally imputed to Swift, at its first appearance in 1713, and was reprinted as his in the Gulliveriana, 1728, with the following abusive preface:

"The reader is to understand, that Captain Gulliver's first attachments in England were to the Whigs; that he wrote the "Contest of Athens and Rome," and many other pieces, on Whig-

gish principles; that his patron was a Whig; that the captain gave into his patron's way of thinking; and the reader is to know, lastly, that at the captain's first appearing in public and in print, at London, he conversed only with Whigs, particularly Lord Wharton, Addison, and Steele.

"But when the late Q—— changed her successful ministry, she changed the whole captain; and the captain changed his opinions, changed his conscience, changed his company, and betook to O—d, O—h, B—k, P—e, A—t, M—y, and G—; changing his style at the same time, and writing continually in opposition to the persons and principles which he had espoused from his youth.

"While the captain flourished, in the height and heat of his labours to favour the Jacobite cause, in Examiners, Conducts, Toby's Remarks, Ballads, and all kinds of writing, public and private, Sir Richard Steele was the chief Protestant hero of the press, who, by his Englishman, Guardian, Crisis, Dunkirk, and other approved writings, in favour of the House of Hanover, stemmed the tide, in the judgment of all unprejudiced readers, and turned the hearts of the people against the then managers for the Pretender.

"The success of Sir Richard Steele so incensed the party, that they took every measure to distress him; they turned him out of his employment, and they expelled him the House of Commons. His fortune was broke, and his person and life were reckoned in danger; and it was under these prosperous circumstances, that the pious and humane captain sends Toby, in his ridiculous way, to support and comfort him. That very captain! who was Steele's old friend, and fellow writer; that captain, whom Steele loved, and never disobliged, unless it could be by his writing in favour of our constitution, against the Pretender.

"But I'll detain you no longer from the entertainment of Master Toby, alias Gulliver, alias Sw—t, alias Examiner, alias D—n of St. P—'s, alias Drapier, alias Bickerstaff, alias Kemarker, alias Journalist, alias Sonnetteer, alias Scriblerus."

Titula res digna sepulchri.
JUV.

Notwithstanding the assertion of this abusive scribbler, we are not to receive the character which follows as the undoubted composition of Swift. Yet considering the violence with which he assailed Steele, in the "Importance of the Guardian," and "Public Spirit of the Whigs," it is likely that he may have revised, improved, and corrected the following pamphlet. The principal author of the tract was probably Dr. Wagstaffe, but it must be allowed to contain some strokes of Swift's peculiar humour.

Toby, in whose name the satire was given to the public, was nephew and servant, or journeyman, of Abel Roper, publisher of the "Post-boy." The man's real name was Edward King; but it seems that, as often happens to originals in low life, he was generally known by the nickname of Toby. By setting up the servant of a new's-writer, himself sufficiently low and infamous, as the critic and opponent of Steele, the real author hoped doubtless to degrade the object of his satire. The pamphlet is adorned with a head of the pseudo-author. Mr. Granger saw a print of Toby inscribed, in manuscript, Dr. Wagstaffe; which seems to confirm the opinion that he was chiefly concerned in the tract which bore that person's name.

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SIR,

I HAVE sent you the late performances of Mr. Steele, who, in my opinion, has, after all the false glosses that have been put upon him, drawn his own picture to the life, and given us a better sketch of his mind, than ever we had of his short face. You will excuse me, Sir, if I interrupt you a little in making my observations upon one who has so freely made his observations upon his queen and government. It will be no injury, I am persuaded, to the Examiner, to borrow him a little, upon promise of returning him safe; as children do their playthings, when their mirth is over, and they have done with them; I cannot, I must confess, but promise myself a little merriment, and, in imitation of the laudable custom of our countrymen at Hockley, shall endeavour, after Bruin has been sufficiently baited in another manner, to give the company the diversion of the wheelbarrow.

All that Mr. Steele contends for at present is to be thought the politician of the company, and, though an infant, and a pigmy in his profession, to deal with statesmen of a gigantic stature, and surpassing his

upholsterer* in argument; and he has behaved himself with such mighty prowess in his first encounters, that it is suspected he writes by the direction of Mr. Ridpath, and that his shield and his sword are the gift of some famous necromancer, and equal in virtue to Mambrino's helmet. I would desire you, Sir, to take notice, I say it is *suspected* only he writes by the assistance of Mr. Ridpath, since I would by no means offer that gentleman an injury, now he is dead and gone, who, perhaps, if he was alive, would be unwilling to be concerned with Mr. Steele.† If the jay borrowed a feather from the peacock, another from the bullfinch, and another from the magpie, it is no argument that Dick is made of borrowed colours, that he borrowed his humour of Estcourt, his criticism of Addison, his poetry of Pope, or his politics of Ridpath; and that his qualifications, as a man of sense, like Mr. Thompson's as a member of parliament, lie in thirteen parishes.

It may be disputed perhaps, whether the Irish or Scotch Rogue has passed the most editions, or who has the best claim to preferment, since the same vein of knavery is the subject of them both. Affinity of sense is no argument that they are both concerned in writing the same peace, or that the Englishman is equivocally generated by the copulation of the Scotch and Irish, and, like a mule, inherits an equal share of the virtues of each of its progenitors. Two persons of different nations and the same principle may sometimes jump in their ideas of men and things, but it is a wrong inference to suppose that none but a Scotchman would give

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* A character in the Tatler of a tradesman who run mad upon politics.

† Ridpath, often already mentioned, was the conductor of the Flying Post, a Whig newspaper. See Vol. IV. p. 218.

the Flying Post the character of honest, as if standing in the pillory was no test of his integrity with an Irish evidence. Wise men are always cautious of the character of those who have trod the paths of honour and virtue before them, who have been conspicuous in those preferments they are solicitous to ascend.

I have sent you the best information of the reasons of the conduct of our upstart, and have endeavoured to solve all the phenomena of his turning politician; and if, in giving you the history of his late proceedings, I should say something that may occasion him to call me graceless rogue, or rascal, or give me any other appellation, adapted to the mouth of a political reformer, if he falls into passion with any man of quality, instead of returning me an answer, you must not say he is rude or angry, or giving ill language; you must approve of his behaviour and his management; it is the method lately of political controversy, and an admirable artifice of evading an antagonist. A man, of late years, is thought as much a conqueror when he runs out of the field and escapes, as if he kills his adversary upon the spot.

Mr. Steele, Sir, having lately had a Welsh estate left him by his wife's mother, began to look upon himself as a considerable person in land, as well as sense, as is natural for those who have been indigent and necessitous all their lives. He was told by the minor poets, his companions at Button's, that a man of his sense must undoubtedly advance himself by being in the senate, and that he knew the world, as Dick himself insinuates in his Treatise upon Demolition, as well as any man in England, and had all the qualifications requisite for a minister of state. There was no great occasion to press him to anything of this nature: he embraced it with all the eagerness

imaginable, but offered at first a sort of *nolo episcopari*, that it might go down the more plausibly. He considered wisely that his wit and credit began to run very low, that the chief of his assistants had deserted him, that C. Lilly had lately refused to lend him half a crown, Jacob* dunned him more than was consistent with good manners, and if he got into the house he could not be arrested. What seduced him more than all these considerations, was a pension from the party double the income of the Stamp Office, at present, and in hand, for speaking in the house; and he has amassed together a multitude of set speeches, which he designs to get extempore for that purpose. He is at this time so elated, I am told, that he has already promised several places under him, when he is secretary or lord treasurer. Mr. Button is an auditor of the exchequer, and Mr. Bat. Pigeon, in the room of Sir Clement, master of the ceremonies. He has declared publicly, he does not question overturning the ministry, and doing that before the first sessions of parliament is over, which my Lord W. and S. have been foiled at for three years together.

I need not tell you, Sir, how exulted he seemed at Stockbridge, and after what manner he addressed the bailiff and his brethren. There was nothing there to perplex him, but the payment of a £300 bond, which lessened the sum he carried down, and which an odd dog of a creditor had intimation of, and took this opportunity to recover. But, alas! alas! We may date the ruin of the man, and the loss of his intellects, from this juncture; as soon as he came to town, the political *cacoethes* began to break out upon him with greater violence, because it had been suppressed, and he who had lived so

* Jacob Tonson, the bookseller.

long upon the lucubrations of others, was resolved at last to do something. Mr. John Snow has since received such marks of his favour and esteem, that he has appealed to him in the dispute betwixt himself and his prince, whether it was expedient to demolish Dunkirk or not, and has chosen himself and the bailiff of a petty corporation to be directors of her majesty. To convince his electors he can write, he has dedicated a book to their bailiff, and for their civility in attempting to choose him, has inflicted the punishment of reading it upon the corporation.*

There is no occasion at this time to animadvert on the argument of his letter, so well refuted by the demolition itself; and, as the case stood then, the whole dispute was frivolous and of no importance. The person of Monsieur Tugghe was obscure, if not feigned: his memorial inconsiderable, if not written by Mr. Steele; her majesty stedfast in her resolution to demolish the town and harbour, and her ministry declaring it: but all this was not enough for our champion's satisfaction: he had promised to oblige Mr. Snow with some diversion at his own expence, and, like the renowned Le Mancha, singles out a windmill to encounter. Dreadful and bloody was the battle on both sides, and that insolent burgher of a foreign corporation deserved to be chastised for affronting her majesty, when none but a senator, or a subject who is not accountable to his queen, ought to be allowed that liberty.

I know not, I must confess, by what means he will evade the charge of insolence and ingratitude; he ought undoubtedly to have been very certain, that her majesty was resolved never to demolish Dunkirk,

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* See Swift's remarks upon this publication in "The Importance of the Guardian considered," Vol. IV. p. 183.

that the Sieur Tugghe's memorial was wrote by the direction of the ministry, and that her majesty had no reason for deferring the demolition. This would have been proper, I say, for him to have inquired, and when he had been ascertained of these things, if he had given his opinion of the importance of demolishing that place, with modesty and submission as a private author, he ought not to have told the queen that the representative body of the whole nation immediately expected it,* when he had no commission from them. If he was insolent and ungrateful to her majesty under the name of Mr. Ironside, he ought not to father his spurious brats, or his libels, upon the nation or parliament; and, however unaccountable he may think himself, he may have an opportunity to repent it.

But he remembers a certain person, who wished the necks of all mankind consolidated in one, that he might the more commodiously demolish the whole species at once, and endeavours, in imitation of this great example, to cut off the constitution of Great Britain at a blow.

A man of such a charity and public spirit is heroically illustrious: our ancestors of forty-one brought

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* See Vol. IV. p. 191.

Swift upbraided Steele on other occasions with this indecorous expression, and hinted, reasonably enough, that he durst not have used the same freedom to his wife as to his sovereign. It happens rather oddly that Steele confirms this assertion in the following epistle to his lady:

"DEAR PRUE, *Wednesday, April* 24, 1717.

"I have a letter from your secretary, intimating you were going to see the judges, and could not write yourself. I would not use so harsh a phrase as *expect*, though I have formerly taken the liberty of that word when it concerned a queen; but I beseech you, when you have health, to employ your own fair hand to, Madam, your most obliged and affectionate husband,

"RICH. STEELE."

on the civil war by the same stratagem of setting the king and parliament at variance.

You will find, Sir, in the packet I have sent you, that the Examiner has answered all his reasons, if they can be called so, beyond the possibility of a reply; but our new politician, who knows the world and himself better than to take an answer, has recourse to another stratagem; and, instead of replying one word to the Examiner, without any sense of handsome language, or good manners, falls a throwing dirt, and abusing the unblemished character of a minister of state, by whose interest alone he has been continued three years in the Stamp Office.

This, Sir, is that gentleman of merit! that hero of good sense! that man of charity and public spirit! that censor of Great Britain! that venerable Nestor!

O, ye literati of Button's Coffeehouse! Ye ladies of St. James's! Ye milliners of the Exchange! Ye upholsterers of the city! Ye stock-jobbers of Jonathan's! Ye neighbours of Sir Roger, and ye family of the Lizards! Behold the patron of learning! the encourager of arts and sciences! the dispenser of morality and philosophy! the demolisher of tuckers and hooped petticoats! the terror of politicians! and the debellator of news-writers! dwindled on a sudden into an author below the character of Dunton!* below the politics of Ridpath! Ungratefully insulting his queen, and committing petty-larceny upon the reputation of a great man! See the man who talked like an oracle, who had all the gay, the delicate, the humorous, at his command, calling names, and daubing his style with the language of a scavenger!

O tempora! O mores! More phlebotomy and fresh straw—

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* John Dunton, a broken bookseller, author of "Neck or Nothing," and other abusive political effusions.

For the man in the moon drinks claret,
Eats powdered beef, turnip, and carrot.

Is this that Richard Steele, Esq., who published the Tatlers and Spectators, who was believed to be one of the most accomplished gentlemen in the world? It is impossible! 'Tis some impostor, some enemy to that gentleman, some savage miscreant, who had his birth and education in a place more barbarous than Carrickfergus.

If Mr. Steele, Sir, was ever a man of parts, he is strangely degenerated, and has undergone a greater alteration on a sudden than any in Ovid's Metamorphosis, though the following account, in my opinion, may be as properly applied to Apollo and Mr. Ironside, as to the person spoken of by that author, which, for the benefit of the city politicians, I shall leave in the original:

——Nec Delius aures
Humanam stolidas patitur retinere figuram,
Sed trahit in spatium; villisque albentibus implet;
Induiturque aures lente gradientis Aselli. OVID.

Our author has given his reputation such a stab, that I can scarcely think but he is in some measure guilty of self-murder, and as dead as Dr. Partridge, or any other person he killed formerly.* If the coroner's inquest was to examine him, the Welsh estate would, in all probability, be in danger, was it not for the *salvo* of *non compos.* It is a miserable consideration, when a man exposes his morals and integrity to sale, when he lets his wit by the day, and jades and hackneys down his genius to supply his luxury. I should have thought Mr. Steele might have had the example of his friend † before his eyes,

* The jest of killing Partridge, the conjuror, was rather too often repeated in the Tatler.

† Dr. Garth.

who had the reputation of being author of the Dispensary, till, by two or thee unlucky after-claps, he proved himself incapable of writing it.

But we ought to have another opinion of our adviser of princes, if we reflect on what he tells us in his Importance, that an honest, though a mean man, gives her majesty to understand, that the British nation expects the immediate demolition of Dunkirk: "Expects it," says he, "from the duty they owe their queen, from their care of the preservation of her sacred life, her crown and dignity, from the honour and integrity of her councils, from the glorious advantages of her arms, from the faith and sincerity of her treaties, from the veneration and regard due to her from his Most Christian Majesty, and from the duty they owe themselves and their posterity; and is this insolence and ingratitude?" If we had leisure to examine this construction, it would open to us a field of incongruity; but I shall rather give you the true reasons of the expectations of himself and his party, abstracted from the false meanings he has put upon them. The party then expects it,—from a particular care of the Dutch trade, and from an apprehension that England should be too powerful; from the duty they owe the Dutch and their posterity; from an endeavour to blacken and asperse the peace; from a jealousy that the present ministry are in the interest of the church; from an uneasiness they are under because of her majesty's administration, and from a desire of seeing her successor upon the throne; and is *this* insolence and ingratitude?

You may imagine, Sir, perhaps, I wrong the demolisher in my interpretation of this passage, especially if we consider him as one who professes, that the highest pleasure of an human soul consists in charity. "As to laying aside," says he, "those

common views, by which the mistaken world are actuated, a man of liberal education can easily surmount those low considerations; and when he considers himself from the moment he was born into this world as an immortal, though a changeable being; he will form his interests and prospects accordingly, and not make provision for eternity with perishable things. When a man has planted such a sentiment as this for the rule of his conduct, the pursuits of avarice and ambition will be as contemptible as the sports of children; and there can be no honours, no riches, no pleasures, which can possibly come in competition with the satisfactions of an enlarged and public spirit."

Was Mr. Steele the person he here would represent himself, I would allow the sense he puts upon his own words. This is such a gift of virtue and philosophy, which a man of liberal education can hardly ever arrive to, how easily soever he may surmount those low considerations, and is never, perhaps, to be found in any person, much less in one, who bestows it upon himself. I wish, indeed, I could find any one who would give him this character; I have hunted everywhere, I have conversed with his companions and creditors, with his friends and enemies, and, I must confess, I never yet met the man who had so good an opinion of his veracity, as to believe him in trifles and matters of the least importance.

You may blame me, perhaps, for reminding our author of his debts; and I should justly think myself blameable, were they not the effects of his luxury, his vanity, and ambition, and not of accident or misfortune. I could easily excuse and pity a man for being poor, but not when he labours by his vices to undo himself; not when he endeavours to make a figure, or become a senator, at the expence of his

creditors. Some civilians look upon such chemists, who are searchers only of the philosopher's stone,* as unfit to be tolerated in any community, because they reduce not only themselves and families to beggary, but several other people; and certainly spendthrifts and projectors of any sort are equally pernicious, and are so far from having any spice of public spirit, so much boasted of by some, that they are useless members to the government they live under, and a nuisance to the public. Where is the public spirit of such a man, who will be bribed to recommend a barber, a buffoon, or a perfumer to the world, to carry on intrigues, which a man of honour would blush to hear of, and to pimp in print? † Where is his charity and benevolence to mankind, who is squandering away a handsome competency among the illegitimate, who is running into everybody's debt, and paying nobody? Where is his disinterest who votes for more than double an equivalent of the Stamp Office? Are the pursuits of avarice and ambition contemptible to such an one? And is this laying aside the common views by which the mistaken world are actuated.

Pardon me, Sir, however merry I have been, I can contain no longer: public spirit, charity, benevolence to mankind, and disinterest, are virtues known to our mushroom patriot by name only, and it raises the contempt and indignation of every honest man, to hear a person of the vilest principles, and the most mercenary hireling who ever prostituted his pen in the defence of any faction, giving himself such an air

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* Steele's researches in alchemy are here sneered at.

† This is an unhandsome, and, I doubt not, a false insinuation, that the recommendations of Charles Lily, the toyman, which repeatedly occur throughout the Tatler, were not gratuitous, and that Lily himself made an infamous use of the popularity he acquired.

of sanctity and virtue. A man of such a public and enlarged spirit is as well qualified as any Judas of them all to betray his friend, his benefactress, or his sovereign, if you bait with a bribe considerable enough to reach his conscience: and he may very well be careless what ideas are affixed to the letters of his name, when it is impossible for the worst to sully him.

I have dwelt the longer, Sir, upon Mr. Steele's character, because it seems to be the main argument at present: Dunkirk is now *demolishing*, and the *importance* of no consideration: and I beg leave only to make a remark or two upon the Englishman, which may serve to confirm what I have already hinted.

He assumes at first the name of an Englishman, in a burlesque manner, as if the character and charge of a man of experience, and a patriot, was matter of comedy and ridicule. It may, indeed, Sir, as he manages it: but, methinks, every Englishman ought to have understood himself and his country better than to abuse the only man who, if any one deserves that title, has proved himself more an Englishman than any minister who has went before him. We all of us, Sir, are sensible of the happy influence of his counsel, who has rescued our constitution out of such hands as engrossed the monarchy to themselves, and plundered its revenue: as exposed the wealth of our nation to the depredations of foreigners, and the scorn and derision of its confederates.

But these incongruities are pardonable, if we consider him as a Frenchman, a Dutchman lately naturalized, or an acquaintance of Mr. Steele's: and he may be allowed to publish a letter from himself to a certain peer, complaining of his footman, and calling him such names he learned formerly in footmen's company. Neither is it at all surprising, he

should fancy it incompatible with the character of a statesman, to laugh or whisper, or writhe his head; or that my lord's footman appeared the worst man that ever had the education of a gentleman. I refer you, Sir, to the Englishman at large, and beseech you to read with attention, and not throw it aside before you have read it over.

Mr. Steele, in short, has neither an head nor a style for politics; there is no one political Englishman but contains either some notorious blunder in his notions or his language; and he seems himself so aware of this, that he is already run from his purpose. I should be glad to find any signs of conversion in him; and I could wish he would follow the example of Midas, who, after the transformation of his ears, was ashamed, and endeavoured to cover his ignominy from the world.

If I might advise him, I should think it his best way to retire into Wales,* and live upon his estate; for by these means he may keep his circumstances within bounds; and when his head is cool, and purged of his politics, he may now and then revisit and divert the town by publishing the works of his friends, and retrieve the little reputation he had gained by them. Whatever hopes the party may have given him, or whatever promises they have made, he may depend upon it they will never answer: he will prove their cully and their tool, and ruined in the end; and, if he persists in his purpose, I dare engage, if I can be sure of anything in futurity, that I shall live to see him in jail, or under the hands of Longbottom, in Bedlam; and his works exposed in that neighbourhood, for years together, to the inclemency of the seasons. I know not, I must confess,

* Steele at length took this advice, and died in retirement at Hereford.

whether his misfortunes will deserve our pity. Such a fate will be the genuine product of his indiscretion and ill principles, and his stupidity a curse upon his ingratitude.

Neither Mr. Baker, Mrs. Baldwin, or any other English publisher, ever obtained so great a character as the person we have been speaking of, or received more encouragement from people of condition; and it would have been as much a crime, but a little time since, to have spoken against him, as now it is to speak for him. Some historians have observed, that Alexander was as fortunate in his death as in any action of his life; he died soon after he had subdued the world, nor lived to hazard the glory he had gained, in any rebellion that might have been formed against him. How happy had it been for our politician had he died in such a manner! had he followed his friend Sir Roger, soon after he published his death, and left no Guardians, no Englishmen, behind him, as the monuments of his ignorance and indiscretion!

I have subjoined, Sir, a few paragraphs, by way of postscript, from those papers, that you may make a judgment of his style: I will engage there is scarce any of his compositions, out of which I cannot pick some sentences of false grammar or inconsistence. How honourable soever, or praiseworthy, the ancients thought it to die for their country, I never knew a man was obliged to talk nonsense in defence of it. Abusive language and fustian are as unfair in controversy, as poisoned arrows or chewed bullets in a battle; and he deserves indeed to be thought an Englishman, who is ignorant of the English language! Indolence, attitude, public spirit, liberal education, and benevolence, with a thousand other expressions, are cant and nonsense when applied too often, and upon all occasions; and it is supposed, a

certain scribbler can no more write without these words, than a certain bishop can preach when his hands are tied behind him.

I see, Sir, in the advertisements, that Mr. Steele is about to publish, by subscription, a Treatise justifying the Revolution, and in favour of the Hanover Succession. I could wish his subscribers would weigh the consequence of such an undertaking, or the government suppress it. I know no greater injury that can be done to that illustrious house, than by employing such a pen in their service; and it may be accounted the peculiar happiness of her majesty, and the present ministry, that Mr. Steele has been hired to write against them. A man who is so good a lawyer, and knows the constitution of Great Britain so very well, as to tell us, that, as a member and in the house, he is accountable to no man, but the greatest man in England is accountable to him, cannot chuse but descant very prettily upon subjects as require all the nicety of the common and civil law.

I beg your pardon, Sir, for detaining you so long; the world, perhaps, will expect, that after I have said so much of my antagonist, I should say something of myself; and, as I am neither ashamed of my name or my face, I shall oblige them with my picture, as my brother has done before me.* I have the honour, you know, to be a member with him of the same society of Short Faces, and we differ very little in the lineaments of our visage, not-

* Toby, as we learn from "Noble's Continuation of Granger," had his effigy engraved in a separate print with that of his master Abel Roper. But although Mr. Noble seems to have been aware of the existence of the head alluded to in the text, the pamphlet to which it is prefixed escaped his researches. The engraving presents a stupid countenance, adorned with a long cravat, and calculated to enhance, by its absurdity, the burlesque solemnity of the pamphlet.

withstanding we disagree in our opinions. My pen, I thank God, has never yet been employed in the defence of faction, or to insult my queen; and whenever it is, I desire to have as ill a character as the author of the Importance.* As to my abilities, however mean, I dare engage to write upon any subject with my celebrated brother, upon this condition, that we may be turned into a room by ourselves, with pen, ink, and paper, without books, or the assistance of Mr. Ridpath on the one side, or my uncle Abel on the other.†

I am, Sir, &c.

TOBY.

Will's Coffeehouse, Oct. 27th.

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* "The Importance of Dunkirk considered," one of Steele's pamphlets.

† Ridpath, editor of the Flying Post, conducted the blackguard warfare of party scandal on the part of the Whigs, and Abel Roper (the uncle of Toby, alias Edward King) was the champion of the Tories.

POSTSCRIPT.

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IMPORTANCE, PAGE 21.

"MONSIEUR TUGGHE supposes us to a most notorious degree ignorant of common geography, when he asserts, That Dunkirk is the only port from Ostend westward by which commodities can be brought into the provinces of the Austrian Low Countries, and Germany. There runs from Calais a navigable river to Graveling, the river of Graveling runs to St. Omer, from the east side of this river runs two canals, one through Bourbourg to Dunkirk, the other directly to Winoxberg. There is a canal," &c.

REMARK.—These observations, as Mr. Steele insinuates, are something above common geography, communicated, if the truth was known, by the very man who has discovered the longitude, and are a confirmation of the English adage, that the farthest way about is the nearest way home. My good friend Mr. Tonson was arguing in this manner the other day at his shop, when I told him I could not get through Temple Bar into Fleet Street, because the gate was shut; it would be well, says he, if that way was always stopped; there is a shorter cut for all passengers, for there runs from the Strand a street called Catherine Street, and at the end of that street is another which runs to Drury Lane, and at the end of Drury Lane are two ways, one by St. Giles's Church on the left, and the other down

Holborn on the right; a little below the Black Swan in Holborn you turn down Fetter Lane, which leads you directly into Fleet Street.

IMPORTANCE, PAGE 32.

"When such was our case, and such is our case, men lately preferred, and grown too delicate, would have men of liberal education, that know the world, as well as themselves, afraid for fear of offending them in their new clothes, to speak when they think their queen and country is ill treated."

REMARK.—This sentence is scarcely intelligible without inquiring what a man of liberal education is. Now, a man of liberal education, according to Mr. Steele's acceptation of that word, is one of mean parentage, who was bred at school till he could almost construe Latin, and has since improved himself in the knowledge of the world, by riding in the guards, by conversing with porters, carmen, foot-soldiers, players, bullies, bawds, pimps, and whores of all sorts and sizes; who has been arrested for the maintenance of his bastards, and afterwards printed a proposal that the public should take care of them. One who has no invention, no judgment, no style, no politics, no gratitude, and no honesty. In short, a man of liberal education is one who, after he knows he is all this, has the impudence to say, that, as to his morals, if there was anything very flagrant, he has friends enough in town who would oblige the world with them. It is observable, notwithstanding Dr. Walker so often flogged our author, when he was at school, for false grammar, he continues to affront Lilly almost in every word, viz., "men of liberal education that know"—"his queen

and country is ill treated— ;" "if there is anything very flagrant, oblige the world with them." This is also a characteristic of a man of liberal education!

ENGLISHMAN, NO. III.

"The King of England is no other than a very good man vested with all the opportunities, and tied down by the most solemn oath to be such, in the most eminent manner that all the power that ought to attend human nature can enable him."

REMARK.—Though the interpretation of this paragraph may be plain to the present age, yet lest Mr. Steele, who, I am sure, designs his works shall be delivered down to posterity, should hereafter be misunderstood, it may not be unnecessary to give them to understand, that this phraseology is adapted to the peculiar way of thinking of the finest wits amongst us, and may sometimes be understood in quite a different acceptation from what the words import, and is sometimes of no signification at all, but intended as a bite upon the reader. I have no leisure at present to describe what a sort of creature a man is, who is "vested with opportunities," or the essence of that "power which ought to attend human nature in the most eminent manner." It is sufficient that our author has a meaning in these words, but affects a mysterious way of speaking like the oracles of old, in order to preserve the majesty of his ideas from the profanation of the vulgar; and it is a thousand pities that such an admirable talent at riddles and ænigmas should be thrown away to no purpose, which might prove of most prodigious emolument, could Mr. Steele reconcile himself to Dr. Partridge, and obtain the

liberty of publishing them as an Appendix to his Almanack.

ENGLISHMAN, NO. V.

"The earth we see is visited all around; in some parts of the world men are seized with a contagion of their bodies, in others with the infatuation of their minds. This is a plain observation, and grows into the common sense of mankind; and this seasonable querist will find to his confusion, that this glorious spot of liberty will no more be imposed upon by general suggestions and insinuations against its true welfare and interest. It is come to that, that people must prove what they say, if they would be believed."

REMARK.—How happy is Mr. Steele in his transitions! Connection has been believed a necessary ingredient of good writing; but he has shown a new way, and how to arrive to be an author without coherence. In the beginning of the passages before us, he gives us a sketch of the terrible, then he descends to consider the laws of vegetation, and shows how a plain observation "grows into the common sense of mankind;" and from both these considerations together, very fairly concludes, that a "glorious spot of liberty" can never be imposed upon by suggestions against its true interest, and after this clenches the sense of the whole, by telling us of an hardship put upon the writers of this age: "It is come to that," says he, "that people must prove what they say, if they would be believed." These Mr. Steele may call new conceptions very properly; every rustic can draw consequences, and make what the logicians call a natural syllogism; but none but so refined a reasoner and a critic can hit the unintelligible. Had the Examiner talked in

this manner, he might have been justly said to go on in a serene exuberance of something neither good nor bad. "A man," says Mr. Steele of that author, "may go on in writing such stuff as this to his life's end, without ever troubling himself for any new conception, or putting the imagination or judgment to the least labour. There will be no danger of his wanting store of absurdities, and I allow he can dress them up in tolerable language, and with a seeming coherence."

ENGLISHMAN, NO. V.

"And all, as one man, will join in a common indignation against all who would perplex our obedience."

REMARK.—Whatever contradiction there is, as some suppose, in *all* joining against *all*, our author has good authority for what he says, and, considering he means well, I think myself obliged to defend him in this particular. How *all* "joining in a common indignation" will be construed, I cannot well determine; but certainly it may be proved in spite of Euclid or Sir Isaac, that everything consists of two *alls*, that these *alls* are capable of being divided and subdivided into as many *alls* as you please, and so *in infinitum*. The following lines may serve for an illustration of this matter:

Three children sliding on the ice
Upon a summer's day,
As it fell out they *all* fell in,
The *rest*—they ran away.

Though this polite author does not directly say there are two *alls*, yet he implies as much; for I would ask any reasonable man what can be under-

stood by *the rest* they ran away, but the other *al* we have been speaking of? I have considered Mr. Steele in this view, that the world should not think I have so much malice against him, but that I car exhibit the beauties, as well as quarrel with the faults of his compositions; and I hope for the future, fo his own sake, and to avoid an uncorrect way o writing, he will not value himself upon his hast productions, because he can write a paper in passion, and rejoin upon the Examiner in less tha a day's time; but that the admonition of his frien Sir Marmaduke to his coachman will be his constan rule—John, remember I am never in haste.

ADVERTISEMENT.

In a letter I have received from Mr. Longbottom that gentleman informs me, he is making a curiou collection of all the rarities, both of matter and lan guage, throughout the works of the ingenious Cap tain Steele, with a true copy of Mr. Steele's lette to the collar-maker's wife of Stockbridge, and he answers, the originals being both under his custody and to be perused at his shop near Charing Cross He has already, he tells me, extracted several word contributing to a smooth style, flowers of rhetoric smart sentences, and knock-down arguments. I the latter end of his letter, he makes some observa tions upon what he calls knock-down arguments, an gives a specimen how the repetition of divers word may be looked upon as a full answer to all the argu ments contained in them; and this, that ingeniou anti-demolisher of the countenance terms "perstring ing the controversy," or "spitting his adversary' words into his mouth." His instances are as follow:

"After having with the greatest fluency, gravity and earnestness imaginable, spoken unintelligibl